NOVEMBER 28, 1983
$1.75
TIME
1984
Big Brother's Father
NUCLEAR ARMS
Troubled Talks
And Angry
Protests
Author
George Orwell

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

SOFT PACK 100s FILTER, MENTHOL: 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report MAR. '83.

Competitive tar levels reflect either the Mar. '83 FTC Report or FTC method.

NOW. THE LOWEST OF ALL BRANDS.

Nobody does it lower.

NOW

THE LOWEST

©1983 R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

How to give an ounce of mail a ton of

The distinctive look of an E-COM® letter carries a lot of weight with recipients. The bold blue stripe conveys a sense of urgency. So the message inside is conveyed effectively.

Consider the impact E-COM service could give your sales letters, promotional announcements and invoices. Then consider the fact that with E-COM service, the post office computer does all the work. You simply have your messages transmitted to us as data—either directly by telephone or by an E-COM communications carrier. We print your letters, inserting any personalized text you may specify. We fold them. Then we mail them—First-Class Mail®—in eye-stopping envelopes that make people start reading. For more information, call your communications carrier or your local Postmaster. We'll help you figure out the best way to link up with E-COM service. And show you how an ounce of mail can carry a lot more weight.

E·COM®

DELIVERS IMPACT.

©USPS 1983

RECALLS: WHY THEY OCCUR. HOW TO ANSWER ONE ON YOUR CAR.

When General Motors orders a recall, we believe we are providing an important service to our customers and showing again how GM stands behind its products.

Every car we manufacture has 14,000 or so parts which must be interchangeable. Although the reliability of parts in GM cars rivals that of the parts we supply for lunar rockets or for commercial jets, problems sometimes occur and probably always will.

You can't repeal the law of probability. Somewhere a machine tool may wear unexpectedly fast, or a material may have an invisible contamination.

General Motors tests its vehicles for millions of the dirtiest, dustiest, roughest, coldest, hottest miles imaginable. We even put our newly developed vehicles and parts into thousands of taxis and other fleets in dozens of locations all over North America. The goal: to put on real-life mileage fast. But even this is not the same as billions of miles driven by customers through every possible road, climate and maintenance condition.

Then the law of probability comes into play, especially since we produce millions more vehicles for North America than any other manufacturer. Although all car and truck manufacturers—both foreign and domestic—have recalls, we're a little more noticeable because of our numbers.

If you receive a recall notice on your car, you may feel like taking a gamble and ignoring it. Please don't. Answer it promptly. Follow the instructions in the letter. Recalls are initiated to protect your safety or to keep your car in good running order.

We publicize recalls so car owners will be aware of them. By federal regulation, General Motors has to notify owners by letter and report to the government on the progress of a recall for 18 months. **We go beyond the federal requirements. GM dealers send follow-up letters to owners if no response is received the first time.** In addition, GM dealers can use our CRIS (Computerized Recall Identification System) to tell you instantly of any recall work necessary on a vehicle recalled during the last 7 years. This is important to know when buying a used car. Ask any GM dealer for this information.

If you hear on television or radio of a recall which you think applies to your car, please follow these steps for your convenience.

—First, wait until you receive a letter from us saying your car has been recalled. It may take some time before mailing lists can be compiled and parts can be distributed to the dealers.

—Then call your dealer and give him the recall campaign number supplied in the letter. He will arrange an appointment to have the repairs made. This could save you time and could help the dealer to schedule his busy service department.

If you have read or heard in the media about a recall campaign, but don't receive a letter within a month, ask your dealer to check the dealer bulletin or CRIS to see if your vehicle is affected. Give the dealer your vehicle identification number, which you'll find on your car's title, registration or warranty folder. It can also be found on the instrument panel just inside the windshield on the driver's side.

There are cases in which the auto manufacturers and the government differ over the seriousness of a problem. And these instances sometimes receive a great deal of publicity. But such situations are the exception.

Almost all of our recalls are voluntarily started by General Motors before the government is involved.

If your car needs to be recalled for any reason, please don't ignore the notice. Taking care of those problems in your car is good for you and good for us.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

GM
MARK OF EXCELLENCE

Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

NOVEMBER 28, 1983 Vol. 122 No. 23 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

Senior Writer Paul Gray was an impressionable high school student when he first encountered *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, George Orwell's masterwork. "I was frightened by it," Gray recalls. "I think anyone who reads it carries the experience with him for the rest of his life." For this week's cover story, Gray went back to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the other eight major works and the hundreds of essays in the Orwell canon, to write an appreciation of the late British author.

The adjective Orwellian, like Kafkaesque, has come to symbolize some of the horrors of the 20th century, but most of the author's works present a less gloomy vision than does *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. "His essential appeal is similar to Dickens'," says Gray, who senses an underlying optimism in Orwell's political and autobiographical essays. "When Orwell exposes the cruelties of society, he's writing from the heart and passionately demanding justice."

Orwell was one of the English language's most precise prose craftsmen, and assessing such a literary icon would give any writer pause. Gray, who taught English literature for seven years at Princeton, is no exception. Says he: "I sometimes felt as though his ghost were looking over my shoulder, judging every word that came out of my typewriter."

Senior Writer Gray pondering the Orwell legacy

London Correspondents Mary Cronin and John Saar, who interviewed some of Orwell's friends and colleagues, are also ardent admirers of this week's cover subject. Says Saar: "For clarity, honesty and the willingness to tell the difficult truths, he was a model journalist."

Senior Editor Stefan Kanfer also finds Orwell a compelling figure. "Orwell created a persona for himself," says Kanfer. "He was a complete individualist and something of an adventurer." Reading Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* in 1954 inspired Kanfer to travel around Europe—"I was down but I wasn't quite out"—and eventually to pursue a career in journalism.

In tracking down information about Orwell's life, Reporter-Researcher Anne Hopkins was startled to discover that although much of Orwell's fame stems from *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the author's manuscript showed that he had also considered setting his story in 1980 or 1982. Says Hopkins: "The title has borne such phenomenal significance that it's ironic now to learn that it might have been completely arbitrary."

John a. Meyer

Index

Cover: Portrait in pastel and charcoal by R.B. Kitaj

46
Cover: George Orwell, in his ominous novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Big Brother Is Watching You), made next year a legend before its time. But he had more to say about the present tense than about the future imperfect. *See* BOOKS.

18
Nation: Congress adjourns without tackling the federal deficit. ▸ Grenadians show some signs of discomfort over the U.S. presence on the island. ▸ An incumbent wins in Miami, while a populist captures Boston.

30
World: As the first U.S. cruise missiles arrive in Europe, the Soviets threaten to walk out of Geneva. ▸ Arafat tries to hang on while Israeli and French warplanes seek vengeance. ▸ A declaration of independence in Cyprus.

14
American Scene
New Year's will not be happy for the staff of the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, one more newspaper forced to call it 30 forever.

58
Economy & Business
The recovery is lustier in some sectors than in others. ▸ T-day for Bell stock. ▸ An unusual recession in the Persian Gulf.

68
Law
In a copyright case, *The Nation* wins on appeal. ▸ The Administration loses in a case involving Baby Jane Doe.

70
Medicine
The Soviets build a showcase research center as part of a campaign to fight heart disease, the nation's No. 1 killer.

73
Space
When the shuttle, carrying Spacelab, roars off the pad next week, it will be taking one giant step for science.

80
Design
Frivolous to some, an idol and idol smasher to others, James Wines creates exciting, avant-garde "de-architecture."

83
Music
Culture Club is the hottest band from Britain now, led by Boy George, a spectacular Pan with super pipes.

84
Cinema
Shirley MacLaine and Debra Winger star in *Terms of Endearment*, a quirky comedy about mothers and daughters.

94
Science
In remote regions of central China, wild pandas face a bleak, bambooless winter. ▸ New light for an old measure.

95
Religion
The Vatican takes a hard look at the U.S. Roman Catholic Church and checks up on Seattle's liberal Archbishop.

98
Essay
Taking a lesson from Marshal Potemkin, New York City tries to turn perceptions into reality by putting decals on slum windows.

4 Letters
74 Press
77 People
78 Theater
78 Milestones
90 Computers

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $46 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; Thayer Bigelow, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices.
Vol. 122 No. 23 © 1983 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time & Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611.□□ □□

Letters

Invading Grenada

To the Editors:

Thank God for American intervention in Grenada [Nov. 7]. Because of this humanitarian act, we can breathe more freely in this part of the world.

Brian Stollmeyer
Port of Spain, Trinidad

President Reagan promised that the U.S. would not be subjected to another hostage crisis. In handling Grenada as he did, the President kept his word, and the world is a safer place.

Mario B. Portuondo
Washington, D.C.

I am an extremely embarrassed U.S. citizen living in Latin America. With the invasion of Grenada, Ronald Reagan has bolstered the image of Americans as bullies who have respect for neither international law nor the right of nations to conduct their internal affairs.

Thomas R. Moore
Lima

As a Venezuelan, whose country lies only 80 miles from Grenada, I was exhilarated when I learned about the U.S. military invasion. The U.S. did the "dirty work" for us and other countries. I am grateful that we have somebody with guts in this hemisphere.

Gloria Sucre de Villanueva
Caracas

The American invasion of Grenada is obviously a military success. However, the real battle will be won with food, health, education, human rights and jobs for the masses in the Third World. Social justice is stronger than the sword.

Richard D. Germano
Carmel, N.Y.

The election campaign in the U.S. is about to begin, and we Latin Americans can do nothing but fear a Reagan re-election. The American public should know that the explosive situation in the Caribbean and Central America is the result of extreme poverty and deep social inequalities. A vote for Reagan will be a vote for Viet Nam II.

Jorge Pérez de Lara
Mexico City

I want to thank the U.S. for its courageous invasion of Grenada. This intervention is definitely supported by the majority of the Caribbean people. I am particularly disgusted with the British, who, having used these islands for their own interests during colonial times, now turn their backs on us in times of trouble. Thanks, America. You may not be perfect, but as a friend you are the best around.

Brian Nothnagel
Carenage, Trinidad

According to a Pentagon spokesman, the cache of Soviet and Cuban arms found on Grenada was "far and above what any island this size would need for self-defense." Unless, of course, the arms were intended as a defense against a U.S. invasion.

Randal C. Franklin
Fairborn, Ohio

Now we have a new fanaticism linked to neither religious nor political causes, namely Cuban construction workers determined to die for tourism.

Annemarie Locher
North Vancouver, B.C.

I say with regret what the rest of the world is saying sarcastically: the U.S. has finally picked on a country its own size.

Frank X. Champagne
La Crescenta, Calif.

I used to be fiercely pro-American, but no more. You are as bad a bully as the Soviet Union, only you are more sanctimonious.

Otto G. Beck
Toronto

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan on the grounds that they had been invited into that country, Americans laughed. Now President Reagan announces that the U.S. invaded Grenada because we were invited to do so by Grenada's neighbors. No wonder the world condemns us. The President needs to improve his script as well as his judgment.

Pat Zaharopoulos
San Diego

We finally have a President who not only "carries a big stick" but swings it!

Maurice J. Miller
Fairfield, Conn.

The reaction of Britain confuses me. The constant pressure by totalitarian regimes must be stopped somewhere. Would the invasion have been more legitimate if the U.S. had waited until Communist installations were in place or perhaps a coup had occurred somewhere else in the Caribbean, like Puerto Rico?

Chris Davis
Knoxville, Tenn.

The U.S. ought to send all weapons and ammunition confiscated in Grenada to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan.

Alpha M. Wiggins
Austin

If something had happened to the medical students on Grenada, imagine the jeers from the rest of the world.

Alice H. Aishton
Lebanon, N.H.

Great Britain should have moved months ago to rescue the people of Grenada from the threat of Soviet Communism. Today Grenada is free again, with no thanks to Britain.

Ronald Beatson
Brussels

After witnessing the cowardly reaction of our so-called allies in Europe to our initiative in Grenada, I have come to question the wisdom of a greater U.S. role in the defense of Western Europe. Let us oblige them and withdraw all U.S. forces and weapons from their lands.

Cheng Chen
Dallas

Body on the Beach

I fail to see any justification for your tasteless photograph of the body of one of my fallen comrades, the helicopter pilot lying dead on the beach [Nov. 7].

Richard L. Upchurch
Colonel, U.S.M.C.
Maxwell A.F.B., Ala.

I knew the Marine pilot whose body you photographed. Your picture only makes his death worse. No fighting man should be stripped of his honor in his moment of sacrifice.

Randall G. White
Lincolnton, N.C.

As the wife of a Marine pilot, I found the picture of the dead airman on the beach excessively vivid. Reality can sometimes be too gruesome.

Teeny Massey
Jacksonville, N.C.

War Without the Press

This country has no future as a democracy unless the press is free to report on the good and the bad. President Reagan was wrong to exclude the media from going to Grenada [Nov. 7].

George A. Fulford
Mill Valley, Calif.

The press must understand that the primary objective in war is to attain victory with a minimal loss of life. Delaying

WINE & FOOD

Taste of the Holidays

During the holidays, the kitchen is the heart of our Sonoma Valley home. Here, the marriage of wine and food fills the air with wonderful aromas and memories of vintages past.

WINE

It's a time for California sparkling wine, and we express this festive tradition with Sebastiani Brut Three-Star, a premium sparkling wine made entirely from Pinot Noir grapes grown in Sonoma County. Though it requires extra-time and special care, we produce Brut Three-Star by the classic *methode Champenoise*, a method that dates back to seventeenth century France. In each individual bottle, bubbles were formed naturally during a secondary fermentation, and fifteen months of aging on the yeast has developed

a depth and complexity that make Brut Three-Star a sparkling wine of extra-special character.

FOOD

Once reserved for special occasions only, sparkling wine is now enjoyed in combination with many fine foods.

We enjoy Brut Three-Star with different hors d'oeuvres and also with various shellfish, particularly fresh dungeness crab. In a classic match between sparkling wine and food, my wife Vicki has created a *Caviar Pastry* that marries the rich flavors of caviar, egg, cheese and onion with the crisp, toasty flavors of Brut Three-Star.

If you would like to sample some of our family's holiday recipes and learn more about wine, please write to the address below for your free brochure, "Wine and Food: Taste of the Holidays."

From my family to your family . . . Buon Natale!

Sam J. Sebastiani

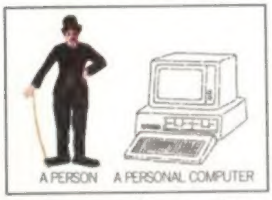
Sebastiani Vineyards, Dept. K, P.O. Box AA, Sonoma, CA 95476

© 1982 SEBASTIANI VINEYARDS

Simple answers to your questions about the IBM Personal Computer.

If you're personally interested in personal computers, but want to know more, these definitions, descriptions and details should help.

"Just what is a personal computer, and how can I use it?"



The IBM Personal Computer is a computer designed for a *person*. It's a tool to help accomplish just about anything a person needs to do with information. It can help a businessperson solve complex problems just as surely as it can help a small child improve his or her arithmetic.

"Suppose I've never had my hands on a computer. How 'easy' will it be?"

As with any new tool, you'll want to get comfortable with the IBM Personal Computer before putting it to serious use. You'll have some step-by-step reading, but our instructional literature involves you from the start. And the computer is on your side too—interacting with you as you learn.

There's no reason why you can't be executing programs and feeling good with the results within your first week. After a month, it should be clear that you've made a good investment, and you'll probably be telling your friends why they should get one.

"Is the IBM Personal Computer simpler or more advanced than others?"

Both. Our system has been engineered with many advanced design features (see the chart) but their purpose is to make it simpler for you. Our ten function keys are a good example. We added them to save you a lot of time and error. They are *advanced* features that add to *simplicity* and ease of operation, and that is typical of our total design.

"What kind of software programs do you have to help me?"

IBM Personal Computer software comes in many varieties, and it's all quality.

For example, if planning is part of your work, we have VisiCalc*— the "electronic worksheet." If you maintain a business, we offer programs that help handle everything from accounting to inventory and payroll record keeping. We also have carefully chosen programs for educational use, intelligent games, a word processing program, plus communications packages that connect you and your computer to outside information services via your telephone and a device called a modem.

"How expensive and how expandable is it compared to others?"

Because of the extraordinary amount of advanced, built-in features available in the IBM Personal Computer, it can give you more quality, power and performance for your money. You're also buying extraordinary expandability—beginning with user memory that can be increased up to 10 times. (In the chart at right, one needn't be a technical whiz to add up all the features that make our personal computer a very good buy indeed.)

IBM PERSONAL COMPUTER SPECIFICATIONS

User Memory
64K-640K bytes

Microprocessor
16-bit, 8088

Auxiliary Memory
2 optional internal diskette drives, 5¼" 160KB/180KB or 320KB/360KB per diskette

Keyboard
83 keys, 6 ft. cord attaches to system unit
10 function keys
10-key numeric pad

Diagnostics
Power-on self testing
Parity checking

Display Screens
Color or monochrome
High-resolution
80 characters x 25 lines
Upper and lower case

Operating Systems
DOS, UCSD p-System, CP/M-86†

Languages
BASIC, Pascal, FORTRAN, MACRO Assembler, COBOL

Printer
All-points-addressable graphics capability
Bidirectional
80 characters/second
18 character styles
9 x 9 character matrix

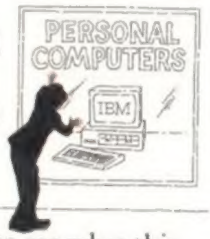
Permanent Memory
(ROM) 40K bytes

Color/Graphics
Text mode:
16 colors
256 characters and symbols in ROM
Graphics mode:
4-color resolution: 320h x 200v
Black & white resolution: 640h x 200v
Simultaneous graphics & text capability

Communications
RS-232-C interface
SDLC, Asynchronous, Bisynchronous protocols
Up to 9600 bits per second

"If I want a demonstration, where do I go and who will show it to me?"

Go to any authorized IBM Personal Computer dealer. The salespeople there have received special training and you should find them all quite helpful.



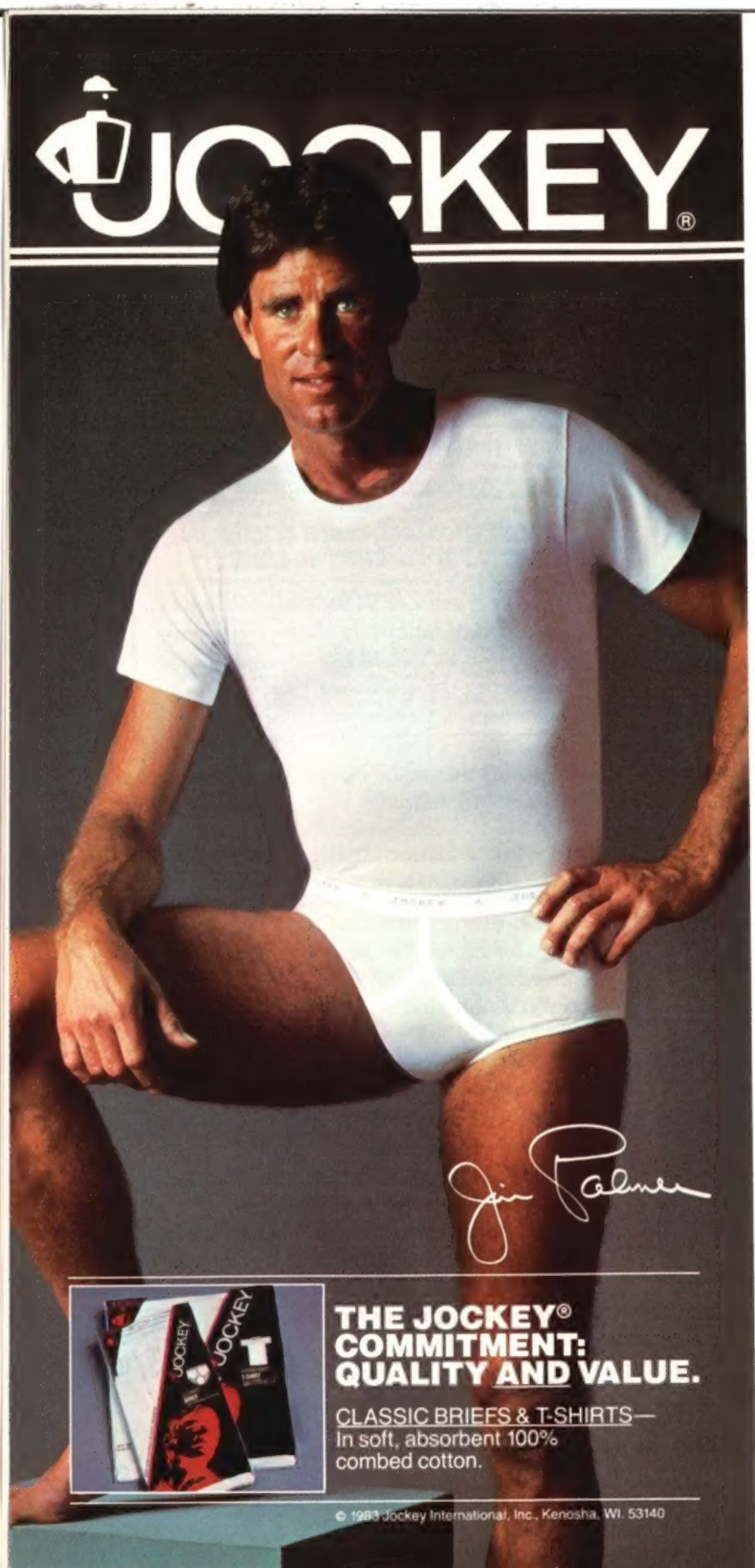
Ask your dealer to run the software programs that interest you most, and get your hands on the system yourself. Then you'll begin to see what this tool for modern times can do for *you*.

For more information on where to buy the IBM Personal Computer, call 800-447-4700. In Alaska or Hawaii, call 800-447-0890.

IBM®

The IBM Personal Computer
A tool for modern times

†UCSD p-System is a trademark of the Regents of the University of California. CP/M-86 is a trademark of Digital Research, Inc. •VisiCalc is a trademark of VisiCorp



Letters

the news for a few days to achieve this goal is a small price to pay.

Harry M. Sanchez
Miami

So the press was not allowed to go to Grenada and do its usual liberal, biased reporting. Whoopee!

Dony Gideon
Larkspur, Colo.

The press long ago abdicated its role as impartial observer. It no longer reports. It editorializes.

Bill Berry
El Cajon, Calif.

Freedom of the press is a precious right. Without it, Americans would be fed claptrap by bureaucrats, who would be their only source of information. When I hear the public lambasting the press, I shudder.

Bea Sommers
Hemet, Calif.

In your Essay on the exclusion of the press from the Grenada invasion, you say, "The press has a serious quasiconstitutional function as a representative of the public." This statement is essentially correct. However, the function is self-assigned. The public, on the other hand, has not complained that the press was denied for a time its sensational headlines and pictures of Grenada.

Benjamin C. Bell Jr.
Nashville

Who besides the press views its exclusion from Grenada as "a bad mistake"? Newspeople have become so smug, arrogant and manipulative that they overreact to any attempt to get balance into their reporting.

Lawrence White
New York City

During the summer of 1970, I was living on the small east Caribbean island of Anguilla, which had been invaded by the British after it declared its independence. A British marine who had been aboard a landing craft later told me that minutes after the troops hit the beach, he very nearly opened fire when he saw dozens of flashes of bright light. But he hesitated when there was no accompanying rifle fire. "Bloody photographers," he said. "A hundred or so of them, all lined up on the beach."

Peter O. Whitmer
Boylston, Mass.

I do not always agree with what I read, but I want to know all sides so I can decide for myself. How can I form an opinion of what happened in Grenada when the only viewpoint I have of the first three days is Government-censored film? I feel cheated, angry and sad.

Lin Hartwell
Santa Monica, Calif.

WHEN SOMEONE GIVES YOU CUTTY SARK,
BE GENEROUS AND GIVE A LITTLE BACK.
CUTTY SARK
750 ml (25.4 fl. oz.)
CUTTY SARK
Bottled and Blended in Scotland
by British Government Supervision

MITSUBISHI BRINGS THE TURBO AGE DOWN TO EARTH.

Total turbo performance was the first criterion in engineering the 1984 Mitsubishi Cordia Turbo.

At its heart is a sophisticated, overhead cam, electronically-controlled fuel-injected engine. An engine that has been integrally engineered for its exclusive Mitsubishi turbocharging system.

Next came front-wheel drive, a complete turbo-tuned handling package and a comfortable driving environment that is performance oriented.

Then we cleverly gave it a hatchback. For plenty of space and plenty of practicality. While still maintaining a slippery 0.33 drag coefficient.

Yet the new Cordia Turbo, with all its practicality and out-of-this-world turbo performance, still sports a down-to-earth price of only **$9,459**.*

And that necessity is probably the most revolutionary part of its entire design.

Cordia also comes in 3 other models with a new 2.0-liter MCA-Jet™ engine and an electronic fuel feedback system for improved performance and efficiency. Prices start at just **$6,989**.*

A TURBO BY DESIGN, A HATCHBACK BY NECESSITY.

Mitsubishi designs and builds its own turbochargers so they perfectly match the cars they power.

MITSUBISHI MOTORS

1984 MITSUBISHI CORDIA TURBO

TAKES YOU WHERE YOU'VE NEVER BEEN BEFORE.™

For your nearest Mitsubishi Motors Dealer call 1-800-447-4700.

*Manufacturer's suggested retail prices. Actual prices set by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, options and other dealer charges extra.

Make the Connection. Buckle Up.™

Mitsubishi Motor Sales of America, Inc.

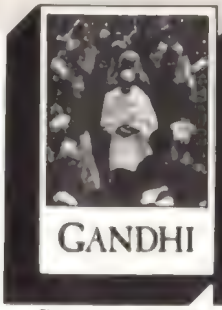
THE VIDEO CONNECTION™

Your Connection to the very latest video releases is The Video Connection, the leading chain of video specialists with stores in neighborhoods, towns, and cities throughout America. We've got the knowledge and the selection of video programs and video equipment to serve you better. For the best in video for yourself or as a gift, make The Connection!

Children's Video Library

Cinderella, The Ugly Duckling, The Red Shoes, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, and The Bremen Band

The Perfect Holiday Gift – Packaged with a Free Plush Benji Toy

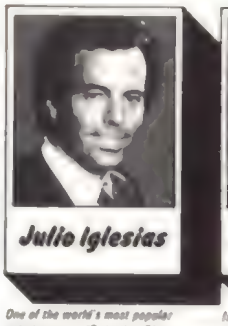


The story of one of the world's most inspirational leaders

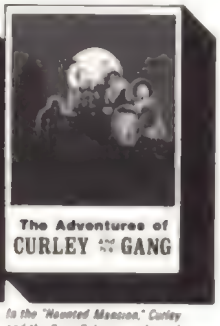
Roy Schneider stars as the pilot of a futuristic helicopter with scientific capabilities

RCA Columbia Pictures Home Video

UNICORN VIDEO INC



One of the world's most popular entertainers in "Todos Los Dias, Un Dia" (in Spanish)



In the "Haunted Mansion," Curley and the Gang Solve a murder and provide loads of laughs

A MOTORCYCLE ODYSSEY EXPERIENCE IT

"ABBA is the greatest pop band of the last ten years" – Rolling Stone

monterey home video

USA HOME VIDEO

CBS FOX VIDEO

CLOSED CAPTIONED

MAN'S BEST FRIEND'S BEST FRIEND

Actress Shelley Duvall and friends capture the magical world of fairy tales on video

Animation Fantasy for the Whole Family

Hans Christian Andersen's Magical Tale in Dazzling Animation

VIDEO GEMS

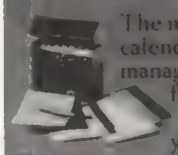
RCA *YOU'LL IMPROVE THE PERFORMANCE AND ENJOYMENT OF ANY VIDEO PROGRAMMING WITH RCA VIDEODISC PLAYERS, VIDEOCASSETTE RECORDERS, AND COLOR TELEVISION* RCA

CALL 1-800-421-7756
FOR THE LOCATION OF THE VIDEO CONNECTION STORE NEAREST YOU AND THE *"SECRET PASSWORD"* THAT WILL SAVE YOU MONEY!
(In Cal. 1-800-692-5555)

THE VIDEO CONNECTION
IN 28 STATES COAST-TO-COAST
Participating dealers only

Franchises Available
Call 1-800-421-7756
ext. 2001
(In Cal. 1-800-692-5555
ext. 2001)
Offer by Prospectus Only

Europes answer to the 18 hour day.



The most progressive calendar/planning and management system has finally come to America. Increase your efficiency with Time/Design. $120 Visa, Master Charge, American Express. For free color brochure call:
1-800-227-3800, ext. 1202.

Time/Design
2801 Wilshire Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90403.

Moving?

Make sure TIME moves with you:

1. Send us the mailing label on the front of this magazine to let us know your old address.
2. Write your new address below.
3. Mail this coupon to:
TIME
541 North Fairbanks Ct.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

☐ Please send TIME to my new address:

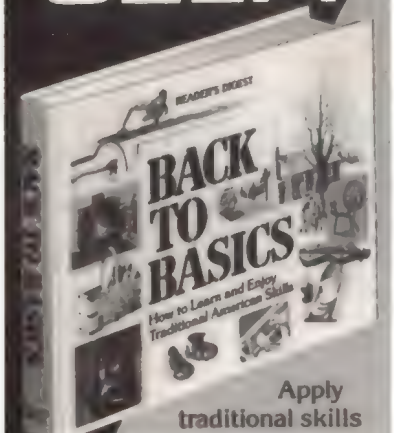
Mr./Ms. (please print)

Address Apt. No.

City State Zip

Please give us 4 weeks' notice if you plan to change your address.
To enter a new subscription or renew your current subscription, order gift subscriptions or have your name removed from the TIME mailing list, please write to the address above. TS1017

HELP YOURSELF!



Apply traditional skills and crafts to city, suburban or country living

Reader's Digest
☆☆☆☆BOOKS

Wherever books are sold
DISTRIBUTED BY RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

According to the Missouri Division of Employment Security

OVER 500 NEW BUSINESSES HAVE MOVED HERE IN THE LAST 4 YEARS

With over 2,000 acres of industrial zoned land in 18 industrial parks, all those new businesses have good reason to open here. We've got all utilities available, railroads, an excellent highway system — all nestled in between two major rivers. Centrally located, we're ten minutes from Lambert St. Louis International Airport, and have an abundant, available skilled labor supply. Industrial Development Revenue Bonds are available for low interest financing. Call Vaal Hall for more information on why **everybody's coming to St. Charles County.**

Industrial Development Authority
of St. Charles County, Missouri
4175 Old Mill Parkway
St. Charles, Mo. 63301
(314) 441-6880

Letters

Europe Rallies

The demonstrations of the West European peace activists [Oct. 31] have been impressive. There are polls that show that more than 50% of West Germans are against the deployment of NATO's missiles. We are afraid that these weapons will endanger the peace more than they will prevent a war. In today's world, war means nuclear, and any nuclear attack would instantly destroy Europe.

Ralph Heinrich
Freiburg, West Germany

We West Germans are fed up with anti-American demonstrations. Where are the protests against the Soviet weapons that have been threatening Europe for so many years?

Martina Ghersini
Andreas Rieclee
Ilka Klüssendorf
Kaltenkirchen, West Germany

It is time for other nations to try to understand the concerns of the West Germans and the reasons for them. Because of our disastrous past, it is now deeply rooted in our conscience that a military attack must never again originate from German soil.

Gabriella Murray
Paderborn, West Germany

The peace marchers as seen on television may appear to include the whole population of The Netherlands. In fact, viewers saw only about half a million of our citizens. More than 13 million Dutch men, women and children stayed home. Americans should know that most West Europeans expressed themselves on the issue of missile deployment when they elected conservative governments that support NATO and the proposed defense of Western Europe. The majority of people in these countries will not bow to a vocal, skillfully misled minority.

Claire Karssiens
Warmond, The Netherlands

The antinuclear demonstrations, no matter how many miles they cover, will be of no avail until marchers reach across the borders to Moscow without being run down by Soviet tanks.

Jeanne M. Bonk
Scotia, N.Y.

Bottom Attire

Some may find Italian Sportswear Manufacturer Maurizio Vitale's "Jesus Jeans" offensive [Nov. 7]. I find it appalling that his company has been chosen to attire the American track and field team. We hear a great deal about the threat of foreign imports to the U.S. economy, yet we are apparently unable even to clothe our Olympic team.

Karen Lyle Burns
King of Prussia, Pa.

When the talk turns to books, it's usually about books like these.

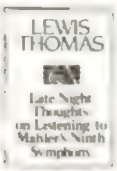
526
Pub price $22.95

161
Pub price $15.95

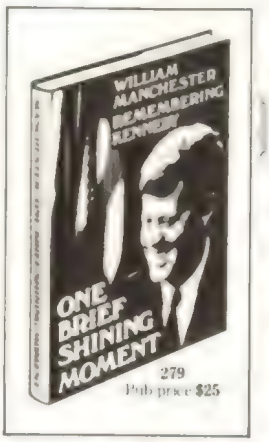
405
Pub price $14.95

407
Pub price $15.95

351
Pub price $13.95



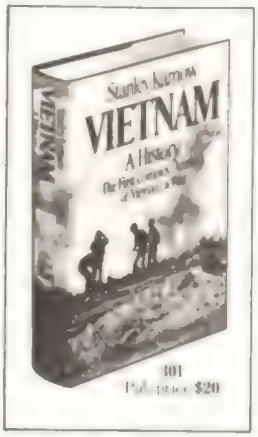
411
Pub price $12.95



279
Pub price $25

188
Pub price $14.95

740
Pub price $34.95



801
Pub price $20

321
Pub price $12.95

369
Pub price $14.95

325
Pub price $17.95

055
Pub price $19.95

244
Pub price $17.95

Choose any 4 books. All for $2.

You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next two years

704
Pub price $15.50

501
Pub price $12.95

575
Pub price $20

449
Pub price $14.95

814
Pub price $19.95

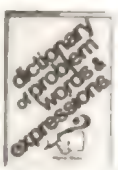
807
Pub price $15.95

117
Pub price $19.95

036
Pub price $19.95

185
Pub price $15.95

380
Pub price $22.95

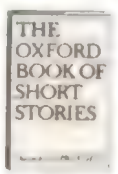


609
Pub price $21.95

786
Pub price $25

075
Pub price $15.95

127
Pub price $17.50

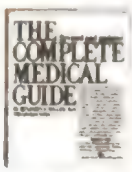


242
Pub price $22.50

620
Pub price $25

378
Pub price $19.95

346
Pub price $16.95



722
Pub price $24.95

624
Pub price $14.95

596
Pub price $15.95

422
Pub price $25

184
Pub price $9.95

404
Pub price $19.95

Facts about Membership. As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and 150 other books that we call Alternates, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternates—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege*: If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense. *Cancellations*: Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought 4 additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, no wonder Book-of-the-Month Club is America's Bookstore.

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the 4 books I've listed below, billing me $2, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four more books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Indicate by number the 4 books you want: [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

A188-11-1

Name _____ 3-04

(Please print)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Prices generally higher in Canada

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB
America's Bookstore® since 1926

Get an up-to-the-minute look at what's happening. In Chicago. The nation. The world. Our newsteam takes you there as it happens.

Watch Channel 2 News, with Walter Jacobson at 5 p.m. . . . and Don Craig and Harry Porterfield at 6 p.m.

It's good, it's early, it's the latest.

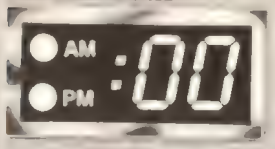
Experience in action

CHANNEL 2 NEWS AT 5 AND 6

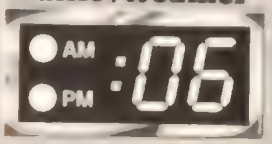
CBS

WBBM Newstime is right now.

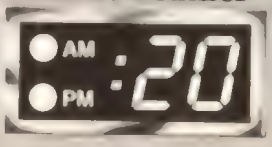
CBS News on the hour



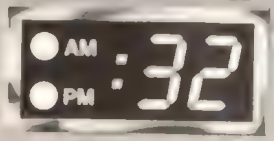
Traffic*/Weather



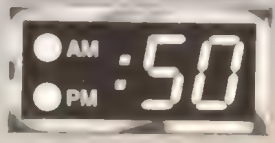
Traffic*/Weather



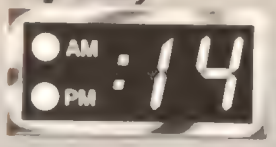
Traffic*/Weather



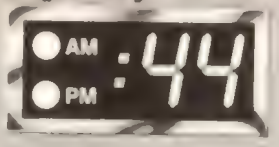
Traffic*/Weather



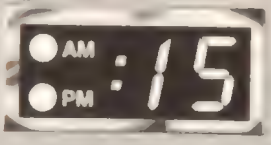
Top Story



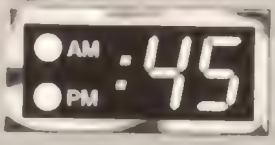
Top Story



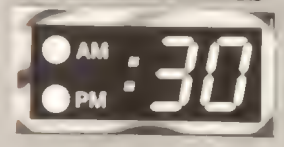
Sports



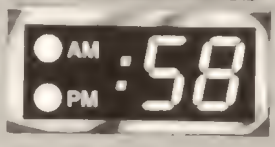
Sports



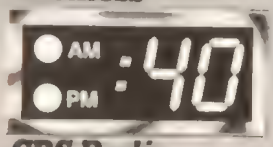
News Headlines



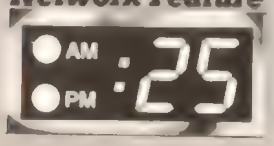
News Headlines



Business**



CBS Radio Network Feature



*traffic/rush hours only
**Mon-Fri 6:40am-11:40pm

Want the top news story of the hour? Tune to Newsradio 78 at O:14 or O:44 minutes after the hour. Night or Day. Interested in the weather? Listen at O:06, O:20, O:32 or O:50 after the hour. Again - any hour, night or day. Sports? O:15 and O:45 after. That's the Newsradio 78 format: news and info at fixed spots on your clock - round the clock. To make it easy for you to find when you want it. Plus daily reports from John Madigan and Walter Jacobson. And CBS Radio Network features with Dan Rather, Charles Osgood, Brent Musburger and others. Remember. For all-inclusive reporting, tune to WBBM Newsradio 78 where newstime is right now.

Mon-Fri	
John Madigan News & Commentary	5:55am
Walter Jacobson Perspective (Tu-Sa)	6:55am
Newsbreak, Charles Osgood	8:25am
In the Kitchen, Sherman Kaplan	10:38am
The Osgood File	11:25am
Sherman Kaplan's Reviews	12:47pm
Suburban Report Donn Pearlman	3:54pm
Dan Rather Reporting	4:25pm
Up-To-Date John Huffman	4:55pm
Report to Consumers/Dick Helton	6:25pm
Travel Steve Birnbaum	7:38pm
Sat	
John Case Outdoor Report	6:40am
Your Money Minute	8:56am
Mirkin on Fitness	12:54pm
Report on Medicine	2:54pm
Sun	
At Issue	9:30am
Around the House	1:40pm
Report on Religion	2:40pm
Last Tues. of each month	
Ask the Governor	7:00pm

And much more.

WBBM/CBS NEWSRADIO 78

SAVE THE LAND

The wind can be a most destructive force. When it blows unchecked, it strips away the precious topsoil we all depend on to survive. One only has to remember the Dust Bowl days to know what can happen when the land is abused and the winds blow free.

We can slow the wind and save our land when we plant Conservation Trees. When planted in shelterbelts, Conservation Trees can keep soil where it belongs, increasing crop yields and saving energy.

Saving the soil concerns us all, whether we live in the country, or in towns or cities. Without productive topsoil, we can't grow the grain that makes the bread we eat, or raise the corn that feeds the cow that produces the milk we drink.

Conservation Trees work on the farm and in the city. The shade they provide cools our homes, helping reduce high air conditioning bills. And when winter winds blow, trees shelter us, reducing our heating bills by as much as 30%.

Find out how Conservation Trees can help you. In the city. Or on the farm. For your free brochure, write: Conservation Trees, The National Arbor Day Foundation, 100 Arbor Avenue, Nebraska City, NE 68410.

ARBOR DAY
Trees a joy forever
TM

conservation Trees TM

Letters

I am outraged that a man would take the name of our Lord and plaster it across a woman's half-naked buttocks just to make money. The sad part is that he is successful in finding people willing to accept such offensive clothing

Timothy J. Curry
West Hartford, Conn

Sympathy for Savitch

I was disappointed by your heavy-handed obituary on NBC Newscaster Jessica Savitch [Nov. 7]. It is unnecessary for us to know that disgruntled colleagues called her "Savage." She was a remarkable woman

Maggie Abels
Buffalo

Jessica Savitch had the credibility of Dan Rather and the class of Peter Jennings. Unfortunately, ambition is perceived as unattractive when possessed by a woman

Janice Roller
New Milford, N.J

The Rabbi Is a Lady

I was pleased to see your coverage of the Jewish Theological Seminary's decision to ordain women rabbis [Nov. 7]. However, the Conservative movement did not "topple a Jewish tradition," as your article implied. The seminary's action was preceded by years of discussion and research, and by the gathering of the written opinions from our leading rabbis on the permissibility of ordaining women. Jewish law has always been pushed toward granting greater equality for women in areas as diverse as inheritance, marriage and control over their own sexuality. Seen in this light, the seminary is simply asserting its responsibility to continue a Jewish tradition that started with Moses and God

Bradley F. Artson-Shavit
Jewish Theological Seminary of America
New York City

Although the Conservative Jewish movement has decided to allow women to become rabbis, your article says the Conservatives "still lag behind" the Reformed group, which began ordaining women in 1972. As an Orthodox rabbinical student, I feel that it would have been more accurate to say that the Conservatives lag behind the Orthodox, who have preserved the true law of the Torah through the generations and have not yielded to the recent pressure of the secular feminists

Joseph S. Jeret
New York City

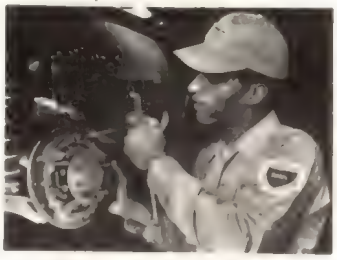
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space

Sears Tire & Auto Centers

WE INSTALL CONFIDENCE
DAY AND NIGHT*

NEXT TIME, STOP AT SEARS. WE GUARANTEE OUR BRAKE JOBS.

Sears does brake jobs for most cars. And every Sears brake job comes with our Limited Warranty. If your Sears brake linings or disc pads wear out within 25,000 miles, we'll either replace them, free, or refund the money you paid for parts.



Sears mechanics can fix your brakes the day you come in or the next Sears working day.

You can get a complete, 2-wheel brake job for your car, including the rebuilding of wheel cylinders and calipers (something many repair shops don't include) for just $69.99. Prices apply only to the continental United States except Alaska.

If Sears did the original installation, you pay only a pro-rated labor charge to install the replacements.

We have so much confidence because our mechanics are trained (many go to our own school), our parts are top quality, and our brake job is thorough.

Thorough means we inspect your brakes and give you a written estimate for any work you need. If you need a complete brake job, we'll install quality brake shoes on your drum brakes (pads on your disc brakes), new front oil seals, and new hold down and return springs.

We'll also turn and true the drums, and/or rotors.

We'll clean, inspect and repack wheel bearings, adjust the emergency brake, flush and bleed the hydraulic system and replace the fluid.

And if you care about getting your money's worth, the next point is very important.

We rebuild the wheel cylinders and disc brake calipers to help assure that your brake job is complete. If you're shopping around and comparing prices, be sure to ask if that's included. Many places charge extra for that work.

Finally, we'll give your brakes a road test.

Yet with all you get at Sears, a complete 2-wheel job for your car is just $69.99 including imports. Metallic pads are $10 extra. Additional parts and labor, if required, at an additional cost.

And it's all backed by the one thing that's bound to give you confidence.

Sears.

there's more for your life at Sears

*We perform most automotive services during prevailing store hours

In Tennessee: Death of an Afternoon

Sadly, this seems to be happening too much now in America: the weaker newspaper in a two-paper town shuts down. Then the stronger announces—before the body is even cold—that it will be expanding. More pages. More personnel (including, charitably, some off the stiff). And, more important, more color.

This does not seem to be going on: "Where are you off to?" "I'm tearing down to the newsstand, sweetie. The paper has a new full-color weather map of the entire country!"

To what newspapers tend to call a "veteran observer"—and a fond one at that—the emphasis on jazzy design changes in all these post-mortem announcements has an air of desperation, like Dustin Hoffman in *Tootsie:* "I can be taller! I can be shorter!" Come now, get hold of yourself; be what you are. The reader has to appreciate more pages, more opinions, but he is not likely to be fooled by a newspaper whose looks have been tinkered with so as to ape a television screen. Besides, the color reception in most papers is uneven. Ever count the number of helmets that quarterback appears to be wearing, the number of eyes on that beauty queen? A case in point seems due about here.

The Memphis *Press-Scimitar* (as in sword) folded on Halloween. It was known as a blue-collar paper. The next morning, the *Commercial Appeal*, which is not known as a blue-collar paper, announced that among the many changes to come, the newspaper would be made "easier to read." To boot, a full one-fourth of the front page was occupied by a color photograph of a black man picking cotton, a quaint idea in an enormous amount of space. Alas, it seemed, a newspaper had finally reached a par with television: it had managed to torment one's intelligence.

If anything distinguished the Memphis closing from a cortege of other newspaper deaths in Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Sarasota, Fla., Tampa, Washington and, provided a buyer is not found soon, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, it was the *Press-Scimitar's* swinish attitude toward reporters from outside. The *Press-Scimitar* would shove a camera in the face of a dying leukemia victim, yet when it came time for itself to perish, Editor Milton R. Britten wrote in a memo, "I don't want anybody with pompadours and gleaming teeth in our newsroom with Minicams on the last day. Nor do I want any local or nonlocal journalists on our floor." He went on to say that he did not "want to submit any of our troops to the indignity of having them crawling around the newsroom." In the end, staffers shouted profanities at local TV film crews, one woman blithely unplugged their lights, a reporter poured beer into a radio correspondent's accessory bag, and the political editor called a "nonlocal journalist" a word that only comes to a civil mind in the smallest room of one's house. As A.J. Liebling wrote, "Newspapering, despite urgent prodding from schools of journalism, has always lagged behind the learned professions on the march to seemliness."

Well, so much for being offended, and on with the tale.

The *Press-Scimitar* was once a lusty voice in a bawdy town on a river bluff. A typically irreverent headline: MOUNDS OF EVIDENCE BARED IN TOPLESS CASE! It set new lows in participatory journalism. In the 1960s it bedecked its most fetching female reporter in the stingiest miniskirt available, sent her sashaying down Main Street, photographed the event and published the pictures across the top of Page One under the screaming pronouncement LOVE IS A MINI-SPLENDORED THING! For all this silliness, it had a down-home feel to it, and readers who stuck with it professed to prefer its casualness to the seriousness of the morning alternative. A sweet potato that looked just like Charles de Gaulle was news enough for them.

Over the past decade, however, the ranks of the devotees began to shrink. The paper grew phlegmatic, just as the downtown around it slid into decline, just as downtowns practically everywhere did the same. (To its credit, or tenacity, the *Press-Scimitar* was wheezing "Forward, Memphis!" to its dying day.) Circulation fell from 127,000 in 1973 to "less than 80,000" this year. Downtown itself was turned into a mall to compete with suburban malls—the same kind of desperate and characterless rearrangement happening all over the country—and still suburbanites clung to the perception of a ubiquitous downtown scene as one in which a man with a wallet is being chased by a man with a brick. Landmark buildings began to disappear, as did, the other day, an old newspaper.

The last edition included a litany of the *Press-Scimitar's* successes in its 103 years. It had been particularly effective in crusades against corruption in city government, for bringing Tennessee Valley Authority power to Memphis and for conservation. There was also as much information as was known about what was going to happen to the 157 employees who had been told to hit the street. Some had found jobs, some had not, and some were retiring. There was a letter from Ronald Reagan that sort of contradicted a policy the President had in force at the time: "We have always believed that a free press provides the best road to the truth and the betterment of society."

Elsewhere in the paper there were emotional farewells from columnists, some of whom, like the sole good athlete on a last-place team, had been allowed an astonishing amount of latitude over the years. At a time when a Memphis radio station was infuriating a bloated local boy, Elvis Presley, with a weight-mocking song called *Just One More Jelly Doughnut*, whose background refrain went, "He's gonna pop!" a *Press-Scimitar* columnist was actually begging in the paper for Elvis to give him a Cadillac. The singer was not moved.

A production man gives the last run the once-over and then—one more time—that's 30

And there was a fine page of anecdotes about all the eccentrics who had passed through the newsroom since the days when Ben Hecht and Charlie MacArthur were working on that wonderful play. Editorial-Page Editor Charles Roper, who compiled the memoir, recalled that someone went berserk in the composing room one day and the police had to be summoned. The cops got off on the wrong floor, confronted the nearest writer, Bob Johnson, and said, "We understand you have a crazy man up here." Johnson waved an arm about the room and said, "Take your pick."

"We felt like a family," reporter after reporter said upon leaving the building that final day. As they trudged out, a van pulled up from the city's Pink Palace Museum and took away a *Press-Scimitar* vending machine with a truly final edition in the window. "We feel like vultures," said Curator Ronald Crawford Brister. "People hate to see us coming." He noted that when the Firestone plant closed earlier this year, he had had to drop by and pick up the first tire produced there, in 1937, as well as the last tread off the assembly line.

In a bar across the street from the paper, they struck up a wake, the last in a round of such affairs. They had twice given themselves a slide show of their faces at work, to a recording of Nat King Cole singing, "Pretend you're happy when you're blue." "It was the most relaxed place I ever worked," said a tearful obituary writer. "It was money," said a belligerent political reporter, getting no argument. "All Scripps-Howard thought about was money."

BUICK LAWSON
Editor Britten

Scripps-Howard is the Cincinnati-based chain that owned the *Press-Scimitar*, and it made no secret that it shut the paper to pour its resources into its other Memphis paper, the *Commercial Appeal*, and to make more money. With the cessation of the *Press-Scimitar*, the *Commercial Appeal* raised its advertising rate 10%. The "Howard" in the name of the chain belonged to the late Roy Howard, who once set America on fire by wrongly filing, on Nov. 7, 1918, the end of World War I. Armistice came four days later. Howard was a small man who kept a mirror in his office, in front of which he would invite people of comparable size to stand beside him to prove he was not so little after all. The Scripps-Howard motto, under Howard and today, is "Give light and the people will find their own way." Next to the motto, in the pages of its newspapers, is a likeness of a lighthouse.

On the way out of the building the day that the *Press-Scimitar* went under, Assistant City Editor Jim Cole looked back and asked, "By the way, will the last person leaving please turn out the lighthouse?" —*By Gregory Jaynes*

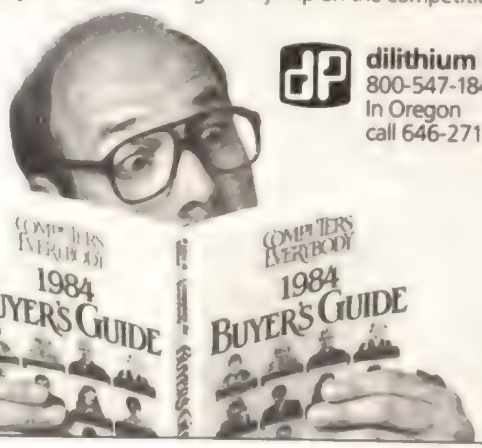
IT'S STILL THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS.
IT'S JUST THAT SOME COUNT MORE THAN OTHERS.

CROSS®
SINCE 1846

A gift of undeniable taste. Cross desk sets. In cherry, walnut, black crystal, onyx and ebony. Suggested prices from $40 to $1250.

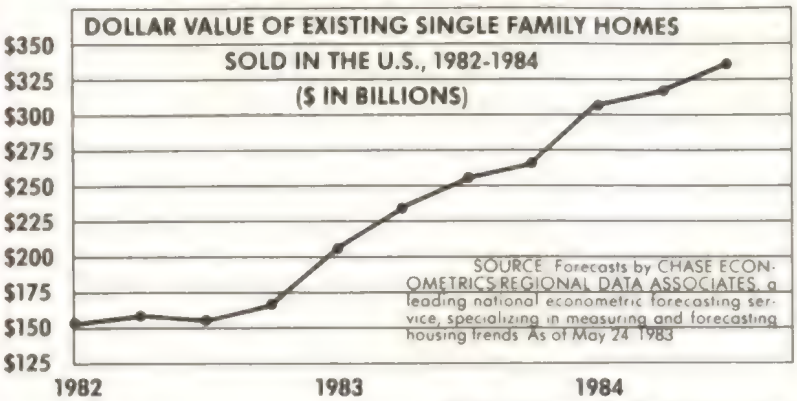
Learn before you leap.

Read us before you spend. Our *Computers for Everybody 1984 Buyer's Guide* ($19.95), gets right to the bottom line with up-to-date, in-depth information on 143 popular computer models and their software. A comparison shopping guide. Lots of photos plus an entertaining style! And if you could use a friendly introduction to computers, read our companion *Computers for Everybody (Third Edition)*. Both are available at your local bookstore. (Call or write for locations. Or for our free catalog, *Brain Food*.) We're the number one publisher of easy-to-read computer books. Helping you get the jump on the competition!



dilithium Press
800-547-1842
In Oregon
call 646-2713

YOU CAN MAKE BIG MONEY IN REAL ESTATE SALES RIGHT NOW.



All data are seasonally adjusted annual rates

Business is booming at CENTURY 21.® And so are careers. CENTURY 21 offices have helped more people to achieve rewarding careers in real estate than any other sales organization in the world. So if you're looking for training, independence, and the chance to make big money, there's never been a better time to start. Or a better place.

CALL OUR TOLL FREE CAREER HOTLINE. 1-800-228-2290

Nebraska Residents please call 1-800-642-8788 In Alaska and Hawaii call 1-800-862-1100

Send me information (at no obligation) about a high paying career with a CENTURY 21® office.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Mail to:
Century 21 Real Estate Corporation
P.O. Box 37275
Omaha, NE 68137

4E

Century 21®

EACH OFFICE IS INDEPENDENTLY OWNED AND OPERATED.

©1983 Century 21 Real Estate Corporation, as trustee for the NAF® and TM - trademarks of Century 21 Real Estate Corporation. Printed in U.S.A. Equal Opportunity Employer

TIME

Founders: BRITON HADDEN (1898-1929) HENRY R. LUCE (1898-1967)

Editor-in-Chief: Henry Anatole Grunwald
President: J. Richard Munro
Chairman of the Board: Ralph P. Davidson
Executive Vice President: Clifford J. Grum
Editorial Director: Ralph Graves
Group Vice President, Magazines: Kelso F. Sutton
Executive Vice President, Magazines: Philip G. Howlett

MANAGING EDITOR: Ray Cave
EXECUTIVE EDITORS: Edward L. Jamieson, Jason McManus
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Walter Bingham, Richard Duncan, John Elson, Ronald Kriss
INTERNATIONAL EDITOR: Karsten Prager
SENIOR EDITORS: David Brand, Martha M. Duffy, William F. Ewald, José M. Ferrer III, Stefan Kanfer, Donald Morrison, Henry Muller, Christopher Porterfield, Stephen Smith, George M. Taber
ART DIRECTOR: Rudolph Hoglund
CHIEF OF RESEARCH: Leah Shanks Gordon
OPERATIONS DIRECTOR: Gerard C. Lelièvre
PICTURE EDITOR: Arnold H. Drapkin
SENIOR WRITERS: George J. Church, Gerald Clarke, Michael Demarest, Otto Friedrich, Frederic Golden, Paul Gray, Robert Hughes, T.E. Kalem, Ed Magnuson, Lance Morrow, Frederick Painton, Roger Rosenblatt, R.Z. Sheppard, William E. Smith, Frank Trippett
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Kurt Andersen, Patricia Blake, Tom Callahan, Richard Corliss, Spencer Davidson, John S. DeMott, William A. Henry III, Russ Hoyle, Walter Isaacson, Marguerite Johnson, James Kelly, John Leo, John Nielsen, Richard N. Ostling, Sue Rafferty, J.D. Reed, George Russell, Fran Thomas, Marylou Purdy Vega, Michael Walsh
STAFF WRITERS: Charles P. Alexander, Kenneth W. Banta, Janice Castro, Hunter R. Clark, Philip Elmer-DeWitt, Guy D. Garcia, John Greenwald, Pico Iyer, John Kohan, Ellie McGrath, Sara C. Medina, Jay D. Palmer, Michael S. Serrill, Alessandra Stanley, Richard Stengel, Alexander L. Taylor III, Susan Tifft, Anastasia Toufexis, Claudia Wallis, Loursa Wright
CONTRIBUTORS: Jay Cocks, Thomas Griffith, Gregory Jaynes, Charles Krauthammer, Melvin Maddocks, Jane O'Reilly, Kenneth M. Pierce, Richard Schickel, John Skow, Wolf Von Eckardt
REPORTER-RESEARCHERS: Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo, Mary Earle, Betty Satterwhite Sutter (Department Heads); Audrey Bail, Peggy T. Berman, Rosemary Byrnes, Nancy McD. Chase, Oscar Chung, Elaine Dutka, Georgia Harbison, Anne Hopkins, Nancy Newman, Jeanne Marie North, Susan M. Reed, Victoria Sales, Zona Sparks, Susanne Washburn, Rosemarie Tauris Zaddkov (Senior Staff); Peter Anskie, Bernard Baumohl, Richard Bruns, Robert I. Burger, Mary Carpenter, Valencie Castronovo, Helen Sen Doyle, Rosamond Draper, Kathryn Jackson Fallon, Mary Ann French, Cassie T. Furgurson, Cristina Garcia, Nelida Gonzalez-Alfonso, Robert T. Greves, Michael P. Harris, Geraldine Kirshenbaum, Stephen Koepp, JoAnn Lum, Judith L. Marrs, Naushad S. Mehta, Katherine Mihok, Jamie Murphy, Adrianne Jucius Nevin, Brigid [illegible], John Podhoretz, Judith B. Prowda, Barry Rentzel, Alfreda J. Robertson, Elizabeth Rudolph, Alan L. Sanders, Marion H. Sanders, William Tynan, Sidney Urquhart, Jane Van Tassel, Linda Young
CORRESPONDENTS: Richard Duncan (Chief), Dean Fischer, R. Edward Jackson, B. William Mader (Deputies); **Washington Contributing Editor:** Hugh Sidey **Diplomatic Correspondent:** Strobe Talbott **Senior Correspondents:** Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, Willem Rademaekers, Sandy Smith, Peter Stoler, Frederick Ungeheuer
Washington: Robert Ajemian, Barrett Seaman, Sam Allis, Laurence I. Barrett, David Beckwith, Gisela Bolte, Jay Branegan, Douglas Brew, Anne Constable, Patricia Delaney, Hays Gorey, Jerry Hannifin, Neil MacNeil, Johanna McGeary, Ross H. Munro, Bruce W. Nelan, Christopher Redman, Gregory H. Wierzynski **New York:** John F. Stacks, Jonathan Beaty, Robert Carney, Dorothy Faerenbaugh, Marcia Gauger, Thomas McCarroll, Janice C. Simpson, Elizabeth Taylor, Bruce van Voorst, Jack E. White, James Wilde, Adam Zagorin **Boston:** Richard Hornik, Joelle Attinger, James Bell **Atlanta:** Joseph N. Boyce, B.J. Phillips, John E. Yang **Houston:** David S. Jackson **Chicago:** Christopher Ogden, J. Madeleine Nash, Lee Griggs, Don Winbush, Richard Zacks **Detroit:** Paul A. Witteman, Barbara B. Dolan **Denver:** Robert C. Wurmstedt **San Francisco:** William R. Doerner, Michael Moritz, Dick Thompson **Los Angeles:** Benjamin W. Cate, Stevan Holmes, Joseph J. Kane, Melissa Ludtke, Richard Woodbury, Denise Worrell
Europe: Lawrence Malkin **London:** Bonnie Angelo, Mary Cronin, Arthur White **Paris:** Jordan Bonfante, William Blaylock, Thomas A. Sancton **Bonn:** Roland Flamini, Gary Lee **Eastern Europe:** John Moody **Rome:** Wilton Wynn, Barry Kalb **Jerusalem:** Harry Kelly, David Halevy **Middle East:** William Stewart **Beirut:** Roberto Suro **Bahrain:** Barry Hillenbrand **Moscow:** Erik Amfitheatrof **Hong Kong:** Sandra Burton, Bing W. Wong **Bangkok:** James Wilhelm **Peking:** David Aikman **Nairobi:** John Borrell **Johannesburg:** Marsh Clark **New Delhi:** Dean Brelis **Tokyo:** Edwin M. Reingold, S. Chang **Melbourne:** John Dunn **Canada:** John M. Scott, Ed Ogle **Rio de Janeiro:** Gann Scott **Mexico City:** David DeVoss, Timothy Loughran **Caribbean:** William McWhirter, Bernard Diederich
News Desk: Suzanne Davis, Tam Martindes Gray, Susan Lynd, David Richardson, Jean R. White, Arturo Yáñez, Alison France, Blanche Holley, Ann Drury Wellford **Administration:** Emily Friedrich, Linda D. Vartoogian
ART: Nigel Holmes, Irene Ramp (Deputy Directors); Arturo Cazeneuve, René Klein, Leonard S. Levine, Anthony J. Libardi, William Spencer (Assistant Directors); Lily Hou, John White (Designers); Rosemary L. Frank, Charlotte J. Quiggle (Covers); Nickolas Kalamaras **Layout:** Burjor Nargolwala (Chief); John P. Dowd, John F. Geist (Deputies); Joseph Aslaender, Steve Conley, David Drapkin, Carroll Dunham, Modris Ramans, Kenneth Smith, Barbara Wilhelm **Maps and Charts:** Paul J. Pugliese, E. Noel McCoy, Nino Tesa, Deborah L. Wells **Special Projects:** Tom Bentkowski
PHOTOGRAPHY: Michele Stephenson (Deputy); Demetra Kosters, Helen Essenberg (Administration) **Researchers:** Evelyn Merrin, Richard L. Boeth, Anne Callahan, Martha L. Haymaker, Paula Hornak, Peter J. Kelmer, Rose Keyser, Susan Lombardo, Eva Nutt-Nies, Julia Richer, Carol Saner, Nancy Smith Alam, Robert B. Stevens, Anne Stovell, Mary Thelin **Photographers:** Eddie Adams, Walter Bennett, Sahm Doherty, Rudi Frey, Arthur Grace, Dick Halstead, Peter Jordan, David Hume Kennerly, Neil Leifer, Ben Martin, Mark Meyer, Ralph Morse, Carl Mydans, Stephen Northup, Bill Pierce, David Rubinger, Ted Thai, Diana Walker, John Zimmerman
MAKEUP: Charles P. Jackson (Chief); Eugene F. Coyle (International); Leonard Schulman, John M. Cavanagh (Deputies); Peter J. McGuillam
OPERATIONS: Sue Aitkin (Deputy Director); Susan L. Blair (Copy Chief); Stephen F. Demeter (Systems Manager); [illegible] (Production Chief); Eleanor Edgar, Judith Anne Paul, Joseph J. Scalici (Deputies); Trang Ba Chuong, Gary Deaton, Suzi Romanik, L. Rufino-Armstrong, Shirley Zimmerman (Supervisors); Frances Bander, Minda Bikman, Robert Braine, Madeline Butler, Joan Cleary, Kenneth Colkka, Manuel Delgado, Leo Deuel, Lucia Hamet, Evelyn Hannon, Garry Hearne, Judith Kales, Theresa Kelcher, Claire Knopf, Agustin Lamboy, Jeannine Laverty, Marcia L. Love, Mary McAleer, Helen May, Emily Mitchell, James D. Mountjoy, Maria A. Paul, Alma Routsong, Megan Rutherford, Marcia Schlafmutz, Julia Shaw, Walter J. Tate, Jill Ward, Alan Washburn
LETTERS: Joan D. Walsh (Chief); Isabel F. Kourt (Deputy)
EDITORIAL SERVICES: Christiana Walford (Director); Herbert G. Orth, Benjamin Lightman, Alex Stack, Elizabeth G. Young

PUBLISHER: John A. Meyers
General Manager: Michael J. Klingensmith
Public Affairs Director: Robert D. Sweeney
Promotion Director: George P. Berger
Circulation Director: Eric G. Thorkilsen
Business Manager: Arthur G. Sachs
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER-ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR: Richard B. Thomas
U.S. Advertising Sales Director: John J. Crowley Jr.
Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director: Charles D. Hogan

You never had it this fresh!

BRIGHT

**The taste that outshines menthol–
and leaves you with a clean, fresh taste.**

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

7 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

The Capitol looked tranquil at twilight last week, but inside it was a madhouse, as lawmakers scrambled to complete unfinished business

TIME / NOVEMBER 28, 1983

"We're Unable to Act"

With deficits at unnerving levels, Congress stumbles to adjournment

The situation was distressingly familiar. The 98th Congress had dithered for months over its most basic responsibility: funding the vast operations of the Federal Government. Now it was in a frantic haste to adjourn. In a sudden spasm of activity, it fell all too short of meeting its self-imposed spending and revenue limits. Illinois Democrat Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, pronounced a scathing verdict on the legislators' performance. "As we leave Washington," he predicted, "word of our impotence will precede us. We have put special interests on notice that we can be pushed around. We have confessed to an already doubting nation that we are ruled by political fear, rather than economic courage." The self-criticism was both bipartisan and bicameral. Declared Missouri Republican Senator John Danforth: "We're in a catatonic state. We're immobile. We're unable to act."

The congressional malaise was most evident in the failure of the House to pass even a three-year tax increase of a mere $8 billion. It would have been a token move toward meeting a three-year goal, set by Congress itself last June, of raising $73 billion in new revenue. Even the larger target would have had limited impact on federal deficits that are running at around $200 billion a year. The $8 billion tax bill foundered partly because it would have placed restrictions on industrial bonds issued by states to finance major construction projects. This offended some special interests—construction contractors, building-trades unions and bond brokers—and they put the squeeze on Congress. When brought to the floor at the insistence of House Speaker Tip O'Neill, the bill could not even muster enough votes to set the rules for debating it.

O'Neill: Losing his grip on the House

The rejection of the tax measure symbolized the various failings of the Congress. Once again, the legislators had bowed meekly to lobbies unconcerned about the broader national interest. Ostensibly, O'Neill and the Democrats control the House by a margin of 268 to 167. But in the 214-to-204 vote against considering the tax bill, the Speaker's slipping leadership grip was evident: he found 65 Democrats voting against him. An even bigger factor in the loss was the partisanship of the Republican opposition. Fully 149 G.O.P. Representatives voted nay, only 13 aye. O'Neill's barbed protest was apt: "The next time I see Republican crocodile tears about the deficits, I will ask them where their party was today."

The fact is that on this issue most of the Republican Party was with its Republican President. Reagan's unyielding resistance to any tax increases at all this year and his refusal to join in the search for solutions to the deficit mess have contributed heavily to the inability of the leg-

islative branch to act on basic economic issues. Admitted a presidential aide last week: "We cannot win in this game, either substantively or politically, so we choose not to play at this time." Declared a weary Republican Senator Robert Dole, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee: "There are two stumbling blocks. One, Ronald Reagan; the other, Tip O'Neill. Unless we have the two giants in this town on board, we're not going to put together a deficit-reduction package."

Dole's frustrations were evident when he asked his committee to approve his plan to decrease the deficit by about $150 billion over the next three years. It would do so partly by giving Reagan the authority to cut spending across the board by 2½%, under the difficult condition that he get similar savings from changes in Social Security cost-of-living adjustments and the indexing of income tax brackets. But Dole's committee did not share his political courage. He discovered he did not have the votes to send his bill to the floor.

In its final flurry, Congress managed to give Reagan only a 4% increase in defense spending, but that still amounted to $250 billion—a record. It includes funds for every major weapons system sought by the Pentagon except for a new type of nerve gas. Congress also voted an additional $8.4 billion for the International Monetary Fund and $15.6 billion to subsidize housing for low income earners.

As the legislators rushed to catch airplanes, leaving a sea of red ink behind them, few could take pride in their year's work. "Increasingly, Congress has become the cowards' branch of Government," charged Columbia University Historian Henry Graff. "Members of Congress only reserve the right to criticize." That was a bit harsh, especially since Congress cannot really initiate a budget for the entire federal establishment. It can only take the Administration's spending and taxing proposals and, if it finds it does not like them, rearrange the ingredients. Certainly, there was plenty of reason to criticize Reagan's fiscal 1984 budget, which last January called for a 14% increase ($30 billion) in military spending, a $32 billion decrease in nondefense appropriations, and tax increases that would only go into effect at the end of 1985—by no coincidence, well after next year's elections—and only if certain unlikely conditions prevailed. That budget was so impractical, carrying a deficit of $189 billion, that the Administration could not find even a single Republican in Congress to introduce it.

Robert Dole

Having agreed to disagree, however, Congress has been unable—or, to be more exact, unwilling—to get behind an alternative to the Reagan proposals. Its own budget resolution, passed last June after bitter partisanship and with no helpful guidance at all from the White House,

Rostenkowski: "We are ruled by fear"

was almost as unrealistic as that offered by Reagan. Congress decided to slice the Pentagon spending increase to 5%, while increasing nondefense spending by $20 billion and finding $12 billion in new revenue. The projected deficit under the congressional plan was at least $170 billion.

Ideally, congressional leaders and the President would then have tried to work out their differences. But Reagan turned spectator, preferring to look ahead to November 1984. "Let them keep their hands off the recovery," he said of any members of Congress who proposed tax increases to reduce the deficit. "Let them start doing what they were elected to do—get spending under control." He kept calling for spending cuts, but refused to say where they should be made. Reagan vowed to veto any tax increases, "no matter how they arrive," in the apparent belief that the economic recovery will knock down the deficit by itself.

Reagan's insistence on running against "the big spenders" in Congress, despite the fact his party controls one of the two coequal houses, made it more difficult for congressional leaders of both parties to put partisanship aside in a search for solutions to the deficit dilemma. Perhaps a third of the 55 Republican Senators stand ideologically committed to Reagan's anti-tax-increase position, even while decrying the deficits. Moderate Republican Senators concede that there is not much chance of imposing more large slashes in social spending, and thus consider tax increases necessary. But they hesitate to oppose a Republican President, both out of party loyalty and fear of reprisal. The House Democrats, on the other hand, have found Reagan's budgetary aloofness a handy political excuse for doing nothing.

Speaker O'Neill, a tough political infighter, took such an escapist view last week. Asked why he did not push harder to reduce the deficit, he replied with a question: "Put your own members and party through that ordeal for symbolism?" He contended that any such Democratic initiative would either die in the Republican Senate or be vetoed by the President. Such political calculations are beside the point. The Speaker has a duty to seek a budget that is best for the nation; once that is done, he can let others take the consequences of rejecting it.

(O'Neill was not above some political symbolism of his own last week. Instead of trying to prepare the way for a renewal of the Equal Rights Amendment with solid House support, he tried to ram it through under rules providing little debate and no revision. Even many of those who support ERA were angered and voted against it. The new ERA initiative fell six votes short of the two-thirds majority necessary to send it back to the states for ratification votes. All that O'Neill achieved was to put 109 Republicans and 38 Democrats on record as having voted against it. Cynics

Republicans Robert Michel and Howard Baker after seeing Reagan: no helpful guidance

would say that was all he wanted to do.)

Overall, Senate Republican leaders have shown more political courage on the deficit than the House hierarchy. "There is virtually no dispute that the deficit does threaten recovery," Dole insists, "because it will either drive interest rates back up or lead to renewed inflation. The time to act is now, not 1984, not after the presidential elections—but now." Majority Leader Howard Baker, Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici and Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark Hatfield fought hard all year to keep the budget process of Congress from dying. Domenici's committee produced a bill that would have required the various appropriations measures to be "reconciled" with $28 billion worth of new revenues and program cuts. But the Administration denounced the Republican effort and Domenici decided to try again next year.

Such Republican conservatives as Colorado Senator William Armstrong not only opposed the Dole and Domenici deficit-reduction plans but also tried to block any increase in the national debt ceiling. Armstrong argued that the only solution was to cut federal spending enough to keep the debt limit unchanged. He finally yielded, and the debt limit was set by both houses at $1.49 trillion, estimated to keep the debt funded until next April.

Such conflicting currents in the Congress, coupled with the lack of presidential participation, have rendered the legislative body virtually inert on the urgent economic issues. This is all the more troublesome because nearly every unbiased analyst knows what must be done to tackle the deficits: there must be some substantial tax increases, some further reductions in military spending, and new cuts in nondefense expenditures. Most also agree that the only way to get significant slices out of domestic spending is to take a knife to the politically sensitive entitlement programs, notably Medicare and Social Security. Democrats want no part of that, while Reagan refuses to consider tax hikes or military cuts. Both sides fear that the one who moves first will be sandbagged by harsh criticism from the other.

Senator Dole and House Budget Chairman Jim Jones have both proposed a way out of the impasse: a summit meeting involving congressional leaders, the President and his top economic aides. The aim would be to seek a solution in which both sides would accept an equal share of the political heat. Such a "big fix" approach might be feasible next spring, when the impact of the deficits on interest rates will be clearer. If the cost of money is rising, the public outcry could force Congress and the Administration to the bargaining table. But in the absence of urgent signals, the two stubborn Irishmen—Tip O'Neill and Ronald Reagan—will probably play chicken over the deficits right up until Election Day. —*By Ed Magnuson.*

Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Neil MacNeil/Washington

Peaceful if not perfectly serene: Grenadian fishermen cast their nets in St. George's Harbor within

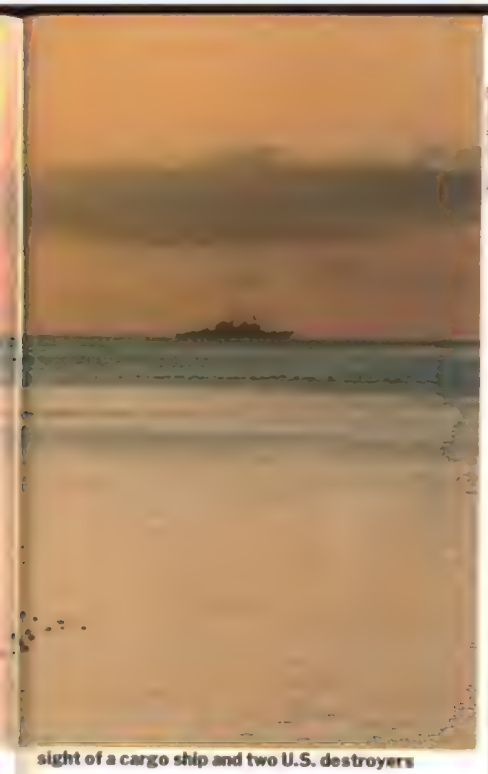
Not All Sugar and Spice

Grenada is grateful for U.S. troops, but also a little uneasy

Grenada has been more quiet than serene for the past couple of weeks, like a drunk sobering up after a bender. A kind of national hangover would be understandable: the tiny country has just endured four years of supercharged socialist revolution, a week of political chaos, a U.S. invasion, then a few giddy days simply feeling liberated. But what happens next is uncertain, and Grenadians and the American invaders both seem to be getting cranky. Military occupation, no matter how well intentioned, is never pleasant. "For the fact that the U.S. came, I say thanks," remarks Kevin Williams of Grand Roy (pop. 300). "But the quicker they get out, the better." On that point everyone seems to agree: last week the Reagan Administration promised that most of the 4,200 U.S. troops would be home before Christmas. But not all. "We will probably have a small presence well into 1984," says a Pentagon spokesman.

In the meantime, however, the troops cannot just sit back and sip rum punch: even when off duty, wandering the beaches in bikini swimming trunks, they carry M-16s. Last Thursday, in an almost slap-

At the U.S. interrogation camp near the airport, some detainees were kept in wooden crates



sight of a cargo ship and two U.S. destroyers

stick incident, Americans came under fire. Before dawn on tiny Green Island, just off Grenada, a patrolling American literally stepped on a man, who leaped up, fired a few AK-47 rounds and scrambled into a waiting motorboat with three comrades. Two of the Americans were grazed. (The week had started with a wild rumor that Soviet commandos had put ashore. Their submarine turned out to be, in the words of a U.S. spokesman, "a whale and two intoxicated fishermen.")

Who are the lurking guerrillas and what is the point of their rear-guard sniping? Officially the only Cubans left on Grenada are an embassy official and his aide, but Major General Jack Farris, commander of the U.S. forces, believes no fewer than a dozen and as many as 30 holdouts are hiding in the bush. Another U.S. military official, however, thinks the stragglers want to make love, not war: the Cubans, he is convinced, are intent only on staying with their Grenadian girlfriends.

Almost four weeks after the invasion, the other combat statistics also remained inexplicably unsettled. Only the 18 Grenadian civilians accidentally killed in a U.S. air attack, and the American casualties—18 killed, 113 wounded—are definite. Officials in Cuba and Grenada seem to agree that 25 Cubans and 21 Grenadian soldiers were killed. The Pentagon, meanwhile, counts 71 Cuban and more than 100 Grenadian dead.

Interrogations, conducted in assembly-line fashion, are nearly finished. Out of a population of 110,000, 2,200 Grenadians have been questioned at a jerry-built camp behind the nearly finished Point Salines airport on the island's southwestern tip. Most prisoners were kept in tents behind snarls of barbed wire, but some were obliged to crawl inside 8-ft. by 8-ft. wooden crates and spend 24 hours there. Finally, last week, Washington ordered the unseemly cages dismantled.

In at least one case, the U.S. forces claimed the solitary confinement was to protect a prisoner from fellow detainees: former Grenadian Justice Minister Kendrick Radix spent a night in one of the plywood boxes as prisoner No. 1,120. "The rain came in the night and I was drenched," complained the Irish-educated lawyer, still indignant. "I need a vacation." Indeed, in the span of three weeks, Radix, 41, has been imprisoned twice—first by the *ad hoc* Revolutionary Military Council (R.M.C.), the junta that overthrew and killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, then (for "spreading bad will among the people") by the U.S. forces that overthrew the R.M.C. Says Radix of Grenada's last month: "It was better theater than Shakespeare."

Truckloads of his countrymen, not yet charged with crimes, have been taken from the interrogation camp up to Richmond Hill prison, where they are being held for eventual trial. Among the 60 imprisoned at Richmond Hill is Bernard Coard, 39, Bishop's erstwhile deputy and the apparent mastermind of last month's coup. Because authorities are keeping Coard incommunicado, his brother Robert, director of Boston's antipoverty agency, has hired former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to intervene. "I just don't want Bernard to be railroaded," Robert Coard said. "All I'm saying to the American Government is let's play fair."

The U.S. Government has turned Bernard Coard into a poster boy. His photograph and those of fellow R.M.C. members, each defaced with a printed black X, are arrayed under a rather prejudicial pretrial headline: "These criminals attempted to sell Grenada out to the Communists. Now they have surrendered." The posters were produced by the Army's 100-member "psychological operations" group; some have been ripped down by islanders. Although the "psy ops" tacticians have wisely avoided attacks on the late and locally lamented Prime Minister Bishop, their campaign may backfire anyway. A new broadside went up last weekend that struck Grenadians as an insult to their national pride and joy, the Cuban-built airport. Above pictures of Cuban weapons seized at Point Salines is the slogan ARE THESE THE TOOLS THAT BUILD CIVILIAN AIRPORTS? Army Jeeps fitted with loudspeakers cruise the island, blaring outdated propaganda ("Help send the Cubans back to Havana where they belong! Protect your hard-won freedom!"), and U.S. troops operate "Radio Spice Island," the only station permitted since the invasion.

At Point Salines, a G.I.'s tent and plaintive sign

Grenadians last week were dismayed to learn of what seemed a ham-fisted exercise of Yankee power: a unit of heavily armed U.S. troops closed and occupied a thriving Roman Catholic community house that a sergeant says had been "a center for Communist propaganda." Mab, a woman who worked at the facility, is upset. "It was a relief when the Americans first came," Mab says, "but this moving of us isn't so nice."

The occupation is not all rough spots, however. In St. George's, the capital, a ser-

A million of Castro's compatriots listen to him condemn the U.S.—and revolutionary traitors

geant was manning the Army's new claims office one day last week. "Come in tomorrow," he told a taxi driver whose cab had been commandeered and wrecked by U.S. troops. "Washington has okayed the funds." The U.S. Agency for International Development, already funneling $3.5 million in reconstruction funds, has proposed sending another $30 million to Grenada in the coming year, equivalent to a third of the island's annual G.N.P.

Some generosity is necessary. The invasion has ruined tourism for this season at least. Last year Grenada got about $40 million in economic aid from Communist countries, which certainly won't continue. The popular Socialist government was able to give Grand Roy residents free cooking oil and powdered milk once a month. "The Cubans made a positive image here," says William Wheeler, AID chief in the Caribbean, "with education, with medical treatment and with the airport." All 30 Cuban teachers and two dozen doctors on the island have been deported. This week 26 replacement teachers will arrive from Barbados. There are hastily contrived public jobs, mostly makework for 1,600 suddenly unemployed Grenadian soldiers. The ex-soldiers, admits Ted Morse, an AID official, "are making square potholes out of round potholes."

Now that U.S. combat troops are committed to leaving in a month, the Grenadians must all the more urgently refashion a political order. Last week, as General Farris stood by with his holstered pistol, five members of Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon's nine-member "advisory council" were installed. They are to run the country until popular elections are held, probably next spring or summer.

Despite some disillusion with the Americans among the islanders, international censure of the U.S. has faded fast. At the Organization of American States' meeting last week in Washington, not one delegate suggested that the U.S. should be formally criticized for the invasion.

Even Fidel Castro, in a speech last week, practically made excuses for the U.S. With a million cheering Cubans crowded into the Plaza de la Revolución, Castro gave his obligatory harangue of the U.S., but he also powerfully condemned Grenada's Octoberists for last month's coup. "Coard's group," Castro said, was a "morally indefensible" regime that had "destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression."

The imperialist aggressors, at least, are spending their money in St. George's crowded restaurants, especially Mama's and the Red Crab. The island's electricity is back on. Conch fishermen are working, and the banana-boat traffic has resumed. But with roadblocks up, public meetings banned and M-16s as commonplace as homespun fishing spears, there is still some trouble in paradise. ***—By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Bernard Diederich/St. George's and Christopher Redman/Washington***

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Learning to Look for Trouble

Taking action in time to prevent disaster has been difficult for the U.S. Our society wants to be left alone and never quite gives up the vain hope that other people and governments want the same thing for themselves. American foreign and domestic policy has often been inspired and shaped by calamitous events that could have been anticipated and possibly avoided.

Ronald Reagan's decision to invade Grenada to forestall human tragedy and further erosion of our influence in the Caribbean stands as one of those rare occasions when a President was able to act in time.

"The hardest thing in the world for a President is to see trouble coming—and then do something to prevent it," says Bill Hyland, former aide to Henry Kissinger and soon to be editor of *Foreign Affairs*. The short-run political risks can be immense. Even as powerful congressional Democrats were declaring Reagan's decision justified, the likes of Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. were scoffing at the invasion as unnecessary. There can be no final proof either way, at least now.

U.S. NAVY

A kamikaze bears down on a U.S. warship

Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to get the U.S. prepared for war form a bright page in his history, but at the time they were bitterly opposed by many Americans who did not understand the approaching catastrophe. Dwight Eisenhower sent U-2 planes over the Soviet Union because he realized our first line of defense was information. When a U-2 was shot down in 1960, exposing the gigantic spy scheme, he was bitterly condemned by some for unnecessary provocation. The longer view now hails his foresight and courage.

For the most part, however, the record is not so happy. F.D.R. and his commanders did not move to prevent the Pearl Harbor debacle, though there was warning. We knew about Japanese kamikaze pilots in World War II, but we lost dozens of ships to suicide planes during the invasion of Okinawa. Hans Mark, a former Secretary of the Air Force who has analyzed these events, believes there is something in the American psyche that makes it difficult for our leaders to prepare for human behavior so far from our norms.

When the Bay of Pigs invasion began to falter, General Charles Cabell, deputy director of the CIA, called the President. He wanted U.S. airpower to blast Castro's tiny but effective air force from the sky. John Kennedy turned him down. Such a drastic step was beyond his ken. Some strategists still feel the invasion would have succeeded had Kennedy looked ahead and used more force.

The signals that hostages might be seized by revolutionaries in Iran were not properly weighed by Jimmy Carter and his aides. Marine officers in Beirut apparently did not give enough credence to the evidence available that terrorists might mount an attack with a truck full of high explosives, even if it meant blowing themselves up. Both events were too far from American experience.

The U.S. record is just as uneven in areas other than national security. Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover have been castigated by historians for watching the signs of looming economic chaos in the 1920s and failing to take action that might have helped control the damage. The entire roster of modern problems—central-city decay, environmental pollution, civil rights conflict—could be seen approaching, but no President really moved to head them off.

History's examples and recent events pose an intriguing question for Reagan's leadership. Can he see the trouble coming from those predicted $200 billion annual federal deficits and, as in the case of Grenada, do something about them before they bring crisis? The evidence of how all this red ink will affect our economy is mixed for the short run. But most thoughtful people are justly frightened by the long view. Failure to cope in time with the deficit problem could obliterate Reagan's Grenada success and mar his presidency. Prescient action could make history smile on him.

The experts have had a lot to say about the new Thunderbird.

"Thunderbird is a head turner."
Washington Business Journal
March 1983

And that's just what's best about Thunderbird's design. Its flowing lines help reduce lift on both the front and rear for excellent traction and stability, so Thunderbird's look actually helps the way it drives. It also has one of the lowest drag coefficients of any four-passenger touring coupe anywhere.

"Its performance is as smooth as its appearance."
New York Times
April 10, 1983

With either the standard 3.8 liter V-6, the 5 liter V-8 or the powerful supercharged 2.3 liter Turbo Coupe, Thunderbird is a performer. And the power is thoughtfully applied, because the Thunderbird 2.3 liter Turbo Coupe is rated at 33 est. hwy., 22 EPA est. mpg.*

"Ford's new Thunderbird Turbo Coupe is pure driving excitement."
Popular Mechanics
April 1983

From the tires to the suspension to the steering, the Thunderbird was designed for the discriminating driver. Radial tires provide great traction on both wet and dry pavement. The rack and pinion steering is quick and precise. Gas-filled struts and shock absorbers give the Thunderbird a smooth ride in normal driving conditions and a supportive ride when either you or the road demand. And all these parts work in concert to make the Thunderbird handle the road with confidence.

"To say that this car is the best new Thunderbird in years is a dramatic understatement."
Road & Track
January 1983

When we say "Quality is Job 1," we are talking about more than a commitment. We are talking about results. A recent survey concluded Ford makes the best built American cars. The survey measured owner-reported problems during the first three months of ownership of 1983 cars designed and built in the U.S.

*For comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, and weather. Actual highway mileage lower.

Get it together—
Buckle up.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

Ford

"The new Thunderbird is Detroit's design triumph of the year."

Car and Driver, July 1983

Two Kinds of Racial Politics

Boston comes together, Miami splits apart

"Tonight Boston made history. We have proven that the hopes that unite us are greater than the fears that separate us."
—Boston Mayor-elect Flynn

"To Xavier Suarez I extend an olive branch but not the laurel of victory. That will never happen as long as he allows himself to be manipulated by the hatemongers of this community."
—Miami Mayor Ferre

The tone of the victory speeches delivered in Boston and Miami last week aptly reflected the spirit of their mayoral elections. Both cities are marked by years of ethnic strife, and race was a determining factor in the results. But in Boston, where a white candidate opposed a black, the campaign was civil, high-minded and the color issue was barely discussed. In Miami, however, two Hispanics vied for city hall in a brawl that exploited the spiraling tension between blacks and Cubans.

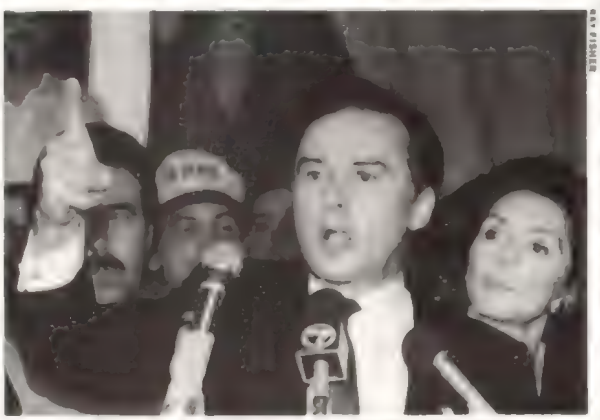
The differences in style reverberated beyond the voting booth. When he conceded defeat, Black Leader Melvin King was the first to acknowledge that the exemplary campaign represented a victory for Raymond Flynn and "a giant step forward" for the city of Boston. The contest between Maurice Ferre, a Puerto Rican, and Suarez, a Cuban, was so fractious that it left Miami more divided than ever.

Flynn's victory had been predicted after he narrowly finished first among eight candidates in last month's nonpartisan primary. King, a former state legislator, ran a strong second in the elimination heat, but the arithmetic was against him in the two-way general election. Noting that blacks constitute only 20% of Boston's electorate, Political Pollster Thomas Kiley said flatly, "A black candidate cannot achieve more than 40% of the vote in this city."

Flynn, 44, was born and raised in the Irish working-class district of South Boston. In his early days as a state legislator, he was an outspoken conservative, opposing school busing and the Equal Rights Amendment and supporting the death penalty. Though he is still against busing, he has moved to the center on most other issues. Both he and King vowed that they would shift the city's resources away from the downtown development that has been favored by retiring Mayor Kevin White and back into Boston's long-neglected neighborhoods. Softening his populism with tiny doses of political prudence, Flynn also committed himself to keeping the downtown area strong.

Once a dashiki-clad radical, King, 55, recently adopted a sober tone and somber attire. Nevertheless, he let slip a few ata-

A jubilant Flynn boosts unity after winning Boston's mayoralty



A reserved Ferre declares victory after a fractious Miami race

Fueling black fears of a Cuban takeover at city hall.

vistic *faux pas*, such as saying that he preferred Fidel Castro to Ronald Reagan. More damaging in this heavily Catholic city, he implied, without offering evidence, that the late Humberto Cardinal Medeiros was anti-Semitic.

Still, King's campaign was persuasive enough to win 20% of Boston's white voters, an accomplishment in any major American city, let alone one with Boston's racially divided past. Among blacks, King took about 92% of the vote.

King's gracious concession speech came easily: he had won a moral victory by becoming the first black to reach Boston's mayoral finals. Indeed, on election night, his headquarters rang with celebration. Amid joyous shouts of "Rainbow! Rainbow!" echoing the rainbow coalition theme used by King and Presidential Candidate Jesse Jackson, Supporter Katherine Jones boasted, "King has changed this city and it will never be the same again."

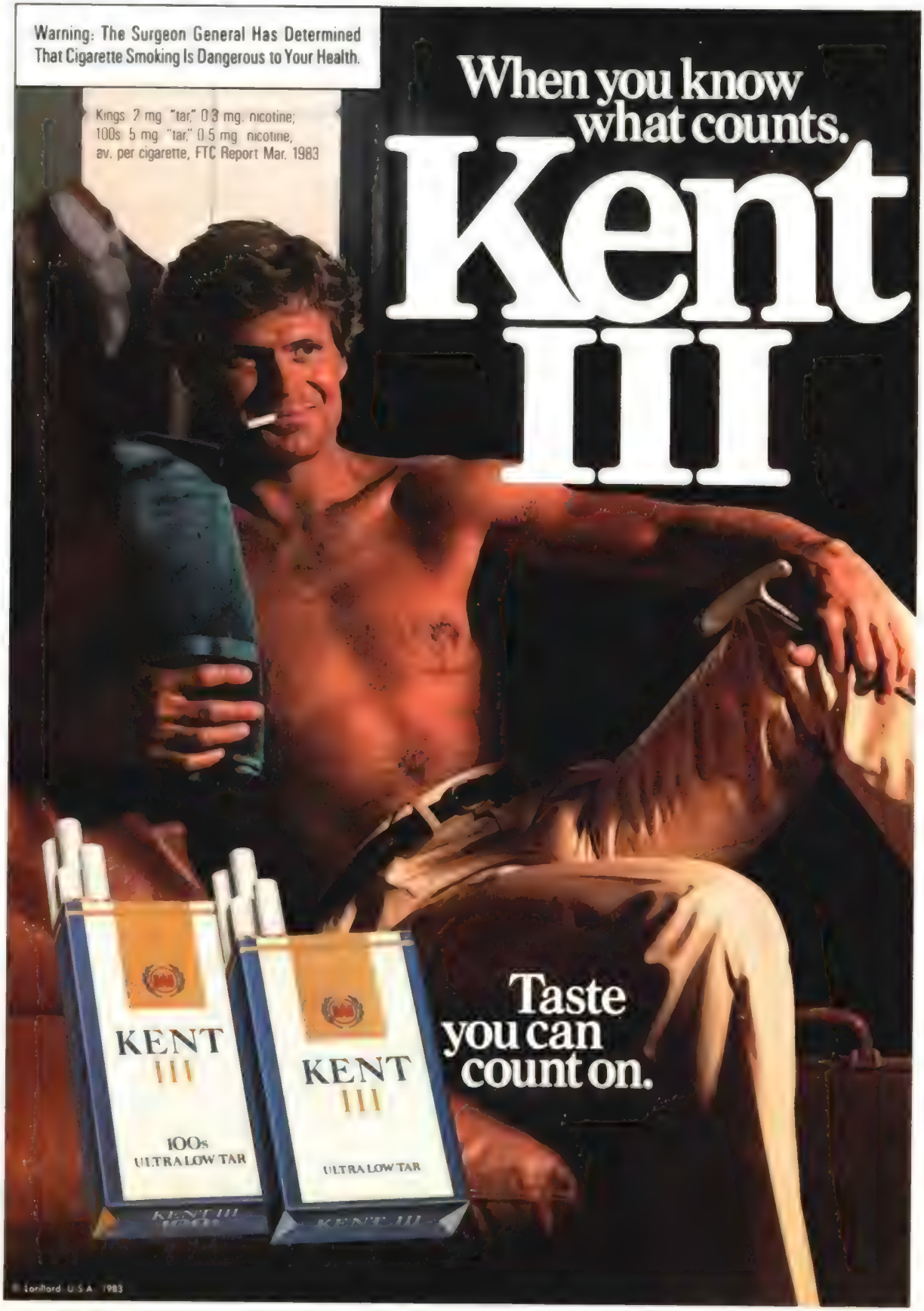
Flynn was equally gracious as he became the first native of South Boston to run city hall. Just before putting on King's RAINBOW COALITION button, Flynn promised that "the only special-interest groups will be the people and the neighborhoods in this city."

Flynn's unifying tone was noticeably absent in Miami. Suarez, 34, a wealthy attorney who once ran unsuccessfully for a seat on the city commission, openly appealed to the Cuban hunger for political control of the city. Little Havana was plastered with signs for *"nuestro alcalde"* (our mayor), and one particularly crude political cartoon distributed by Suarez's organization portrayed Ferre in a phone booth talking to Fidel Castro. Cuban radio stations conveyed the message that "no one but a Cuban is pro-American enough for our interests."

Ferre, 48, who will be entering his sixth term, has been criticized for pushing downtown construction at the expense of poor neighborhoods. But he also has won praise for expanding black assistance programs and work contracts after violent disturbances in 1980 and last year.

Ferre supporters made no bones about trying to exploit black distrust of Cubans. Black Radio Announcer Les Brown urged his WEDR listeners to form "a bolt of black thunder" at the polls. He had a taunt for any Cubans who tuned in: "You stole our jobs and you're not going to steal our city." The most dramatic display of raw enmity came when City Commissioner Joe Carollo went on TV to endorse Ferre and abruptly changed his mind, charging a visibly stunned Ferre with running a "racist campaign of hate."

Black turnout was high (60%) and overwhelmingly (96%) for Ferre. But helpful to the incumbent's victory was winning 27% of the Hispanic vote, almost all of which is Cuban. The independence shown by those voters was encouraging. It suggested that a truce was at least possible in Miami's racially charged politics. Said Miami Attorney Neal Sonnett: "The time is particularly right for some healing." —*By Alessandra Stanley. Reported by Joelle Attinger/Boston and William McWhirter/Miami*


Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.
Kings: 2 mg. "tar," 0.3 mg. nicotine; 100s: 5 mg. "tar," 0.5 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. 1983
When you know what counts.
Kent III
KENT III
100s ULTRA LOW TAR
KENT III
ULTRA LOW TAR
Taste you can count on.
© Lorillard U.S.A. 1983

Olds Ninety-Eight Regency. Luxury carried to its most logical conclusion.

The most exciting part of the luxurious new Olds Ninety-Eight Regency may well be the impeccable logic behind it all.

Compare, and you'll see that this beautifully-styled luxury car makes downright good sense. With Ninety-Eight Regency, air conditioning, power windows and door locks, AM-FM stereo radio* and V8 performance are standard. And the elegant interior has comfortable room for six.

Olds Ninety-Eight Regency for 1984. When it comes to luxury cars, the logic behind this one is inescapable.

Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details. *Radio may be deleted for credit.

There is a special feel in an Oldsmobile

Restoring a Delicate Balance

After a bath in red ink, some state budgets begin to recover

In the trough of the national recession a year ago, state and local governments were all but drowning in a $1.9 billion pool of red ink. But now there is cause for cautious optimism. According to a survey by Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, states and localities may finish 1983 with a combined operating surplus of $16.1 billion.

The current economic recovery, which has boosted revenues through increased income and retail sales, deserves considerable credit for the rosier outlook. Just as important, however, has been a spartan regimen of tax hikes and belt-tightening. Some 38 states imposed new levies or extended temporary tax hikes during 1982 and early 1983, measures that are expected to raise some $10 billion for fiscal 1984. Fully three-quarters of the states slashed spending below the levels they had originally appropriated during the past two years. The result of these austerity measures, says David Levine, an economist with the Bureau of Economic Analysis, is "a whole lot more money than state governments expected."

Among the surprise entries on the most-improved list are several states in the nation's recession-racked industrial heartland. West Virginia, still leading the U.S. in joblessness with an unemployment rate of 15.1%, faced a projected fiscal 1983 deficit of $81.4 million as recently as last January. But thanks to the unflagging efforts of Democratic Governor John D. Rockefeller IV to ram through a $90 million package of spending cuts, the state managed to end the year with a small surplus of $12.4 million.

Michigan, its economy wedded to the unpredictable auto industry, faced a 1983 budget deficit between $800 million and $900 million last January. But the state raised personal income taxes from 4.6% to 6.35%, added 2¢ to the state gas tax, whittled the number of employees on the state payroll by 4%, and delayed and deferred payments for schools. When the 1983 books closed Sept. 30, Michigan was anticipating a budget surplus of more than $50 million.

Minnesota conquered a projected deficit for 1982 and 1983 of $767 million in part with the help of a temporary income tax surcharge enacted in March 1982. Buoyed further by larger-than-expected tax revenues, state officials have predicted a $650 million surplus by the end of fiscal 1985 and an early repeal of the surcharge. In Indiana, Republican Governor Robert Orr called the state legislature into special session last December to avert an estimated 1983 shortfall of $452 million. The result: a $1.8 billion tax hike, the largest in Indiana history, and painful delays in state payments for schools, universities and local subsidies. The state finished the fiscal year $60.4 million in the black, with forecast surpluses of $96.1 million in 1984 and $126.9 million in 1985.

In Ohio, Democratic Governor Richard Celeste helped beat back a projected 1983 deficit of $528 million by tacking an additional 90% onto the state's personal income tax. Despite the size of the hike, deficit-weary Ohioans soundly rejected a tax repeal referendum earlier this month. The state ended the fiscal year with a $43.6 million surplus and is now looking forward to a combined bonus of $80 million in fiscal 1984 and 1985.

When California's Republican Governor George Deukmejian took office last January, the Golden State was staggering under a projected deficit of $1.5 billion. One month later it was broke. Unemployment hovered around 11.2%. Pledged to balance the budget without tax increases, Deukmejian prodded the legislature to close porous tax loopholes on leisure activities and streamline tax-collection laws. The state finished fiscal 1983 with a comparatively manageable deficit of $462 million. That done, he blue-penciled $1.1 billion from the legislature's fiscal 1984 budget proposals. Coupled with surging revenues from the state's rebounding aerospace and defense industries, the changes have resulted in a projected 1984 surplus of $440 million and a 1985 surplus of $1.2 billion. "Ours is one of the most elastic tax bases in the country," says California Legislative Analyst William Hamm. "Our sales, income and corporate profits taxes respond directly to the economy."

Despite these success stories, the fiscal fate of many states is still uncertain. One alarm bell is the dangerously low level of reserve funds. Georgia's protective surplus stands at $9 million, the lowest level in 15 years. "That would run the state government for about six hours," says Clark Stevens, director of the Governor's office of planning and budget. In even worse shape is Mississippi, which is looking at a $120 million deficit in fiscal 1984, despite $250 million in pared spending. "We've cut all the fat we can," laments outgoing Democratic Governor William Winter. "Now we're talking about cutting out arms and legs."

The current precarious financial balance that exists in many states could be upset by a new wave of tax revolts or an economic slump caused by the huge long-term federal deficits. For now, however, the good news has raised spirits. "The national economy will lift all boats," assures Kenneth Kirkland, an official at the National Conference of State Legislatures. "But depending on local conditions, not all boats rise at the same time." —*By Susan Tifft. Reported by Barbara B. Dolan/Detroit and Joseph J. Kane/Los Angeles, with other bureaus*

On the Stand

Did Donovan see ghosts?

Not since Watergate has any Cabinet member endured as many accusations and as much legal scrutiny as Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan. Almost from the moment the former New Jersey construction executive arrived in Washington in 1981 for his confirmation hearings, he has been pressed to explain alleged links with the Mafia. Donovan has resolutely denied any dealings with organized crime. Last year a special federal prosecutor concluded a nine-month inquiry with the report that there was "insufficient credible evidence" to indict Donovan.

That might have ended the matter, but it did not. This fall Donovan's name cropped up during the trials of two Mafia gunmen convicted of killing a witness who had cooperated with the special prosecutor. Last week Donovan was more explicitly linked to a criminal case. This time the Labor Secretary was subpoenaed to appear at a federal court in New York City as a defense witness for two Mob-connected union officials who dealt for years with Donovan's Schiavone Construction Co.

The two are Louis Sanzo and Amadio Petito, the former president and secretary-treasurer of a blasters' union local. Both are charged with lying to the special prosecutor's grand jury when they denied any knowledge of fictitious "no-shows" or "ghost" workers on the Schiavone payroll. One such Schiavone ghost worker testified against Sanzo and Petito. A former blasters' union bookkeeper who took the stand last week said that Sanzo had cashed paychecks made out to no-shows. The defense claims that the no-show scheme was really a matter of "other-shows": to conceal extra income one hardhat would work under a colleague's name.

A ruling by Federal District Court Judge Mark Costantino forced the Secretary to appear at the Brooklyn trial. So, just after lunch on Friday, Donovan strode toward the witness stand, smiling and nodding at the courtroom crowd. Petito's lawyer asked Donovan if he had known about any no-show payoff scheme or if he had encouraged Sanzo and Petito to lie. "Absolutely not," replied Donovan confidently.

Prosecutor Laura Brevetti began the cross-examination by asking straightforwardly if Schiavone had ever paid ghost workers. "I do not know," Donovan said.

Brevetti: You don't know . . . ?

Donovan: I don't know it of my own knowledge.

Brevetti: Did you come to learn that as a fact?

Donovan: I'm not certain, frankly.

Then she quoted from Donovan's very different testimony to the special prosecutor's grand jury in 1982 ("Some people apparently were paid who were never there"). Donovan seemed to waffle. "I've read a lot of documents and been to a lot of places since then," he explained. "If I testified to that [in 1982], then that is accurate."

Donovan after testifying in Brooklyn

In the course of his 35 minutes of testimony, however, Donovan said he did not think that Schiavone paid no-show workers: "In my opinion it didn't happen." If the jury agrees, Petito and Sanzo figure to be acquitted. But if the jury believes the two union officials lied about the no-shows, the men stand to be convicted of perjury. By implication, a guilty verdict would also challenge Donovan's testimony that he did not believe the scheme existed. ■

Fugitive Found

Vesco turns up in Cuba

For years he has left the most shadowy of paths. It was rumored, but never proved, that he tried to bribe high officials in the Nixon and Carter Administrations. According to Justice Department officials, he consorted with Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. In August, Columnist Jack Anderson placed him in the Nicaraguan bush. A month later, NBC reported that he was masterminding a major drug-smuggling operation out of the Bahamas. But Financier Robert Vesco, who fled the U.S. in late 1972 after being indicted on charges of swindling mutual-fund investors out of $224 million, has not surfaced publicly since he was expelled from the Bahamas two years ago.

Law-enforcement agents now say Vesco has been located at last: in Cuba, where he is apparently the guest of Fidel Castro. He was the "arranger, fixer and middleman" in a scheme to smuggle American-made sugar-processing equipment into Cuba, says Jack Wolfe, an Assistant U.S. Attorney in Brownsville, Texas, who successfully prosecuted another man in the case. Richard Bettini, an old friend of Vesco's who testified for the Government in the trial, says Vesco has a waterside villa near Havana with a private dock and a yacht. Bettini recounted flying to Havana in Vesco's private jet; even though Bettini had no visa or passport, airport officials "just faded into the woodwork" when Vesco appeared to meet him. ■

Feminist Freed

Foat triumphs in court

It is the sort of ghastly hallucination that countless women have: one day, the long-buried secrets of a misguided, misspent youth are dug up, dusted off and flung into full public view. But in Ginny Foat's case it was all too real, and far worse. Along with revelations about her barmaid-and-battered-wife past, Louisiana police dredged up a warrant for the robbery and murder of an Argentine businessman near New Orleans 18 years ago.

Foat, a former president of the California chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), was accused by her alcoholic ex-husband John Sidote, a convicted murderer. In exchange for immunity, Sidote had agreed to name Foat as his partner in the crime at the trial that ended in a New Orleans suburb last week. Foat denied she had any connection with the murder. The jury of six men and six women took less than two hours to support her over her former husband and return their verdict: not guilty. A couple of the jurors even jostled among the throngs of supporters to get Foat's autograph after her acquittal. She claimed the outcome was a victory for all women "who have a plight in life."

DONN YOUNG

Despite the prosecution's insistence that the trial was simply about a long-forgotten murder, the case had a deeper significance. Some supporters viewed Ginny Foat as a martyr, an example of a woman who had overcome the degradation of domestic violence only to be prosecuted for her political prominence. Other feminist leaders, including some officials of NOW, seemed embarrassed by her checkered past and shied away from supporting her. Foat said, "They looked at me as something that might dirty the corporate image." But no California nightmare is without its elements of the American dream: Foat now plans a book about her ordeal and a film company is already working on turning the tale into a movie. ■

"I could go for something Gordon's"
The possibilities are endless
GORDON'S
DISTILLED LONDON DRY GIN

Discreet arrival: a tight security cordon surrounds a C-141 StarLifter transport at Britain's Greenham Common airbase

STODDART—GAMMA—LIAISON

EAST-WEST

The Moment of Truth

New U.S. missiles arrive, and the Soviets prepare to walk out of Geneva

Western governments had long agonized over the decision. Soviet officials had churned out increasingly dire warnings of what the consequences would be if the decision was made. Step by ponderous step, the issue had grown in importance until it loomed as a fundamental test of wills between the Soviet Union and the 16 members of the NATO alliance. Last week the moment of truth was finally at hand in the protracted East-West war of nerves over the deployment of intermediate-range Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. The first new U.S. nuclear weapons had arrived. It was now up to the Soviets to make good on their many threats to begin a new and uncertain chapter in the tortuous history of the nuclear arms race.

For once, it seemed to be Moscow that was wavering. After a week of mixed diplomatic signals, Soviet arms negotiators indicated that they would attend at least one more meeting this week of the faltering Geneva arms talks that are intended to limit the spread of the intermediate-range missiles. The Kremlin's decision appeared to be a tactical one. The Soviets were waiting for the results of a vote in the West German Bundestag that is expected to give final approval to deployment of controversial Pershing II nuclear ballistic missiles on West German soil before the end of the year. A walkout by the Soviets at Geneva could occur at any time after the vote; the only uncertainty was over how the walkout would occur, and exactly when. In the tense interlude, the new stage in the Euromissile campaign was dramatically summed up by French President François Mitterrand in a national television appearance. Said he: "The crisis we are experiencing is the most serious the world has known since Berlin and Cuba."

It was a crisis that announced itself discreetly, with the touchdown of a U.S. Air Force C-141 StarLifter transport at Britain's Greenham Common air force base, 50 miles west of London. Aboard the aircraft was a tarpaulin-swathed shipment of nuclear-tipped Tomahawk cruise missiles, the first of 41 nuclear weapons systems that are scheduled to be placed in Britain, Italy and West Germany by the end of the year. Word of the shipment's arrival was broken by British Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine, who made the announcement in the House of Commons to choruses of "Hear, hear!" from his Conservative Party colleagues and cries of "Shame!" from opposition Labor Party benches.

In the tumultuous parliamentary debate that followed, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was treated to unusually hostile attacks. Newly chosen Labor Party Leader Neil Kinnock called her a "lackey" of the Reagan Administration for accepting the weapons. Social Democratic Leader David Owen criticized the government for failing to insist on a so-called dual-key control arrangement with the U.S., which would have ensured a British veto over the use of the missiles. Such an arrangement, the opposition charged, was in effect in Britain during the

A peace demonstrator appeals to Soviet Negotiator Yuli Kvitsinsky

Goodbye gifts, then a revised version of an ultimatum.

Controversial weapon: a Tomahawk cruise missile of the type being deployed in Europe, on a test flight in the Mojave Desert

1950s and 1960s with an earlier generation of U.S. medium-range weapons. At that time, however, Britain had purchased the missiles from the U.S. to ensure dual control. In the case of the cruise missiles, the Thatcher government decided that the $1.4 billion price tag was too high. In any case, the dual-key argument was not altogether relevant. In a series of written understandings dating back to the early 1950s, Washington and London have always acknowledged that the use of U.S. nuclear weapons based in Britain would require explicit permission from 10 Downing Street. Thatcher and President Reagan reaffirmed that understanding four months ago.

British antinuclear protesters quickly went on the offensive, demonstrating in London and attempting to obstruct the entrances to Parliament. At the heavily guarded Greenham Common base, where a makeshift women's "peace camp" has existed for 26 months, 150 demonstrators tried to block the gates. The authorities were unmoved: by week's end 550 protesters had been arrested. The day after his Commons announcement, Defense Secretary Heseltine came under assault personally. As he arrived to address a meeting of Conservative students at Manchester University, he was sprayed with red paint by left-wing demonstrators who screamed, "Better Red than dead!"

The hooliganism provided an ugly backdrop for the arrival of the cruise missiles, but far tougher threats have been hanging in the air for weeks. The person delivering them, in name at least, has been Soviet Leader Yuri Andropov, who has not been seen in public since Aug. 18. In an Oct. 26 *Pravda* interview, Andropov established the ground rules upon which the Soviets said they would act. Said he: "The appearance of new American missiles in Western Europe will make a continuation of the present [arms] talks in Geneva impossible." Andropov's failure to appear at the Nov. 7 military parade honoring the 66th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution fueled further speculation last week about the reasons for his absence, officially said to be the result of a "severe cold."

Andropov's statement was interpreted as an ultimatum buttressing the long-standing Soviet position at the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) talks in Geneva: although Moscow insists on preserving a large number of triple-warhead SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe, not one new NATO missile was acceptable. The explicit threat was of a Soviet walkout at the talks and collapse, for a time at least, of the second track of NATO's "double-track" strategy, adopted in December 1979, of planning to deploy the new missiles while simultaneously talking about limitations on all such weapons in Europe. The chief Soviet arms negotiator in Geneva, Yuli Kvitsinsky, had even said privately that a walkout would come between Nov. 15 and Nov. 22. Were the Soviets bluffing? No one was sure.

U.S. Chief Negotiator Paul Nitze after a session last week

A cosmetic offer, and an agreement to talk again.

The initial impression of U.S. officials in Geneva and Washington last week was that, after the arrival of the first cruise missiles in Britain, the Soviet walkout was imminent. As Heseltine made his announcement in London, the U.S. delegation, led by Chief Negotiator Paul Nitze, was holding a meeting in its eight-story headquarters, situated, ironically, on Geneva's Avenue de la Paix (Avenue of Peace). The delegates' purpose: to give a final review of a refined U.S. bargaining position that they intended to present to the Soviets the following day. The U.S. proposal was an elaboration of a position previously outlined by President Reagan. It offered to reduce the number of new NATO single-warhead missiles in Western Europe to considerably fewer than the 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles currently planned. In exchange, the Soviets would have to reduce the number of SS-20s throughout the U.S.S.R. from 360 to 140.

Some American officials privately concede that the U.S. offer was largely cosmetic, designed to show the world that the Administration would stay at the bargaining table as long as was necessary to reach an agreement. The Soviets were equally conscious of the

Pall Mall
A Step Ahead
Step up in taste,
step down in tar
100's
PALL MALL
FAMOUS CIGARETTES
LIGHTS
LOW TAR FILTER
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

intent. The official news agency TASS had already put out a statement declaring that the forthcoming U.S. proposal was "patently unacceptable."

Then a strange diplomatic drama began. Half an hour after Heseltine spoke in London, a shipment of Soviet gifts, including caviar and vodka, arrived at the U.S. headquarters in Geneva. The gesture is customary at the end of each bargaining "round" of several months. The U.S., however, had proposed to keep the negotiations going until the year-end holidays. The Soviets had previously agreed to show up for the Tuesday meeting, but the arrival of the gifts was seen as a strong hint that the session would be the last one.

On Tuesday came a surprise. During a 35-minute session, by far the shortest of the two years of talking, Chief Soviet Delegate Kvitsinsky agreed to hold another session at the neobaroque Soviet mission two days later. Then he offered what amounted to a revision of Andropov's Oct. 26 ultimatum. According to Kvitsinsky, the threatened "consequences" of NATO missile deployment would occur with the arrival "on the continent of Europe" of "short-flight-time" systems on the periphery of the Soviet Union. His statement implied that collapse of the talks would occur only after West Germany had acquired its first complement of Pershing II missiles, which require twelve to 13 minutes to reach the Soviet Union (*vs.* several hours for a ground-launched cruise missile). The Soviets have always objected to the Pershing IIs more than the cruise missiles, not only because the ballistic Pershing IIs are faster but because the Soviets have a particular phobia of any German fingers near a nuclear trigger, even though the Pershing IIs will remain under total U.S. control.

Why, then, the goodbye gifts? U.S. officials in Washington speculated that the Soviet delegation, acting on its own initiative, had assumed that the talks were about to collapse. According to the U.S. theory, the Soviets received overnight instructions from Moscow that said, in effect, "Keep talking—at least for now."

Thursday's 2-hr. 15-min. missile meeting produced no movement between the two sides. The Soviets then insisted that the next meeting take place on Wednesday, Nov. 23. The demand was aimed at providing time for Moscow to digest the outcome of the Bundestag debate on the Pershing II deployment, which is not scheduled to come to a vote until late Tuesday, Nov. 22.

Despite the threats, the alliance has remained united in its resolve. After three days of debate, Italy's parliament last week voted, 351 to 219, to back the government of Socialist Prime Minister Bettino Craxi in fulfilling the Italian commitment to accept 112 cruise missiles as its share of the NATO nuclear burden. French President Mitterrand, whose country is not in NATO's military command though it is a member of the political alliance, used much of a 90-minute television broadcast last week to put the blame for the missile crisis squarely on the U.S.S.R. He declared that "the leaders of the Kremlin seek to have a regional advantage and hope that they will perhaps succeed one day in separating Europe from the United States." In an acid commentary on Western Europe's active antinuclear peace movement, Mitterrand observed that "there are surely people in the Soviet Union who are pacifists, but their country is developing its armaments. In the West, on the other hand, we are developing pacifism."

BAHM DOHERTY

British bobbies drag away a peace protester at Greenham Common

With their eye keenly on the upcoming West German vote, the Soviets were making a final attempt to strengthen antimissile sentiments in Western Europe. Late last week a West German government spokesman said there had been a new "signal" from the Soviets, to the effect that they would drop their longstanding insistence on counting independent British and French nuclear forces in any Geneva agreement. There was less to the signal than the West Germans thought. In private discussions with Nitze in Geneva, Kvitsinsky had tried to get the U.S. to make a missile offer of "equal reductions on both sides," and said that if such an of-

Keeping Up

Even as U.S. cruise missiles were being delivered to Greenham Common last week, the authoritative *Jane's Defense Review*, a London publication, confirmed that the Soviet Union was expected to deploy its own advanced version next year. This would presumably be part of the "military countermeasures" that the U.S.S.R. has threatened to undertake. Like the U.S.'s Tomahawk, says the *Review*, the Soviet SS-NX-21 will have a range of 1,500 miles and a warhead of 200 kilotons. Unlike the Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles that are now being deployed in Western Europe, the Soviet missile can also be launched from submarines and aircraft. (The U.S. already has a different model of cruise missile that can be delivered by bombers, and another that can be launched from surface ships.) The Pentagon, which has been leaking reports of the forthcoming Soviet SS-NX-21 for almost two years, is concerned about the new development. Although the Soviets have had sea-launched cruise missiles for more than two decades, they were short-range weapons; one typical early model, the 1958 SS-N-2 STYX, had a range of only 26 miles. More recent versions could hit targets at up to 350 miles but were considered inaccurate at long distances. The improved weapon, according to *Jane's*, was built with information and microelectronic technology smuggled in from the West. It could be put on submarines patrolling the American coastline. In anticipation of that threat, the U.S. has already established especially sensitive surveillance radar systems on both the East and West coasts, and plans to install another next year in Georgia and a fourth in Texas.

A vintage Soviet cruise missile: the SS-N-2 STYX

fer was made Moscow might be willing to postpone—but not drop—the issue of British and French forces. What Kvitsinsky meant by equal reductions on the American side was cancellation of the entire NATO deployment. The U.S.S.R., however, would be able to keep at least 120 SS-20s trained on Western Europe. The U.S. was not about to accept this feeler. Said a U.S. official: "It's still zero for us but not zero for them." Moscow leaked its version of the discussion in Bonn to muddy the upcoming Bundestag debate.

On the eve of the parliamentary vote, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt appealed to a special conference of the opposition Social Democratic Party to support the deployments. West Germany, Schmidt told some 400 delegates, "must keep to its word in spite of all the disappointments about speeches and about behavior in Washington." He added: "My second reason is that the political equilibrium would be enduringly disturbed if the Soviet Union forged ahead with its unprovoked, one-sided buildup." The speech received only perfunctory applause. Said a delegate: "We see his voice as a voice of the party's past." At the urging of former Chancellor Willy Brandt and SPD Floor Leader Hans-Jochen Vogel, the conference voted overwhelmingly to reject the new missiles. Only 14 delegates supported Schmidt.

If the deployments go ahead, Moscow will probably fall back on other threats in addition to a walkout. One is to move new, shorter-range nuclear missiles onto the territories of East Germany and Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin has also said it would put the U.S. under an ill-defined "analogous risk." This might include the use of low-trajectory ballistic missiles, weapons useful for surprise attack, on submarines close to U.S. shores and the deployment of new cruise missiles on Soviet subs *(see box)*. Nonetheless, the Administration remained confident that the Soviets would eventually return to the bargaining table. Said one official: "The Soviets don't have an alternative strategy to détente."

A muted recognition of that reality came from the Soviets last week as they marked the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between their country and the U.S. "We have got to find a way out of this mess we are in," Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin said at a commemorative dinner in Washington. Amid hints that Andropov might reappear for a meeting of the Central Committee next month, a message from him was conveyed to an Iowa banker. In it, Andropov said that the Soviet Union "has always been striving to live in peace with all the states, to develop mutually beneficial cooperation also with the United States." Characteristically, Andropov noted that current tensions, including those brought on by the missile issue, were "by no means the result of the Soviet Union's policy." ***—By George Russell. Reported by Frank Melville/London, Strobe Talbott/Washington, with other bureaus***

Last-Minute Bust in Hamburg

A computer bound for the Soviet Union is seized

The timing was worthy of a first-rate Hollywood spy thriller. One day before the Swedish container ship *Elgaren* was due to make a seven-hour stop in the port of Hamburg, U.S. officials informed their colleagues in West Germany that the ship was carrying Soviet-bound contraband. Once the ship had docked, however, a Hamburg judge turned down the formal request for a search warrant on grounds of insufficient evidence. As the deadline ticked closer, a three-member panel of the appeals court reviewed and finally reversed the earlier decision. Just seven minutes before the *Elgaren* was scheduled to lift anchor, anxious officials sped out to it in a launch and clambered aboard. They promptly ordered three 20-ft.-long containers to be hoisted by crane onto dry land. As the container ship headed toward Sweden several hours behind schedule, authorities opened the boxes. All their suspicions were confirmed: inside was a roomful of U.S.-made computer equipment, including a giant VAX 11/782, a powerful computer that can be used, among other things, for guiding missiles and keeping track of troops. The Soviets lack the resources to build such equipment themselves.

Manufactured by Digital Equipment Corp. of Maynard, Mass., and valued at more than $2.5 million, the VAX is the most precious cargo to be seized during the Reagan Administration's 25-month drive to block the illegal shipment of sophisticated machinery to the Soviet world. But it is not the first such catch. "Operation Exodus," a special task force involving 300 full-time customs agents, has confiscated more than 2,300 illegal shipments worth nearly $150 million since its launching in 1981. Still, the leaks seem to appear as fast as authorities can plug them. In West Germany alone, according to CIA Director William Casey, 150 firms and individuals are involved in illegal shipment of sensitive equipment to the East bloc.

Technology smuggling has, moreover, become both efficient and elaborate. The VAX was bought by an unidentified firm in New York State and apparently shipped by air to South Africa. Then, authorities suspect, a West German named Richard Mueller arranged to have the computer transported via Sweden to the Soviet Union. Mueller, who owns a fleet of shadowy companies with ever shifting names, has already been implicated in two major violations of U.S. export law.

The proliferation of high-technology microelectronic equipment and of gambits for shipping it to the Communist bloc has dramatized the problems facing the industrial democracies. Responsible for addressing these issues is COCOM, a kind of clearinghouse for strategic equipment. Every now and then, COCOM members, including the U.S., most of its European allies and Japan, agree upon a list of sensitive technology that cannot legally be shipped to Communist nations.

The effort is, however, riddled with inconsistencies. Washington observes a much more extensive set of rules than its allies, and within the U.S. the rules are the focus of heated dispute. The Defense Department, supported by the U.S. intelligence community, has long complained that COCOM's regulations are dangerously lax. The hard-liners, as they are called, note that even the most mundane computer equipment can often be turned to military purposes, and they are reluctant to do the Soviet military machine any favors. In response, the State and Commerce departments, backed by U.S. businessmen, have contended that national security must not preclude U.S. participation in lucrative global markets. Besides, the soft-liners argue, economic prosperity is a means to enhanced security. Both sides, however, applauded last week's bust, which clearly fell within the COCOM guidelines. ■

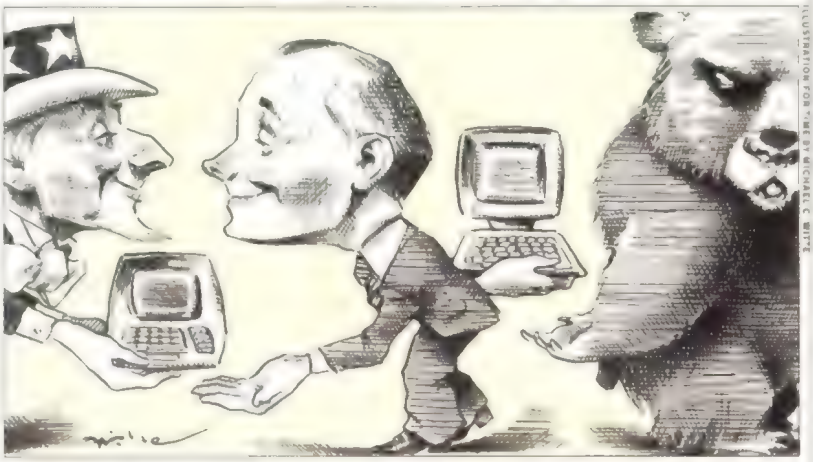


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY MICHAEL C. WITTE

team up WITH RAYOVAC AND SPECIAL OLYMPICS

$2 REFUND FOR YOU...

Buy 2 packages of RAYOVAC Alkaline Batteries, (or 3 packages of Heavy Duty Batteries), follow the easy rules and receive a check for $2 in the mail.

...AND 50¢ FOR SPECIAL OLYMPICS

For every refund, RAYOVAC will donate 50¢ to SPECIAL OLYMPICS—the world's largest program of sports training and athletic competition for mentally retarded children and adults.

To get your store check refund, complete this form, attach proof of purchase (UPC symbol and numbers) found on all packages of RAYOVAC batteries and mail to

RAYOVAC/SPECIAL OLYMPICS ... TEAMMATES
P.O. Box 501
Young America, MN 55399

RULES:

1. Only this Official Refund Certificate accepted; no facsimiles please
2. Mail and phone requests for Official Refund Certificates cannot be honored
3. Offer good only in U.S.A.; void where prohibited, taxed or restricted by law.
4. Mail in offer only; not for store redemption.
5. Offer is limited to one REFUND per family, group, organization or mailing address. Not for use by commercial, industrial or government customers.
6. **Offer expires February 29, 1984** ... Allow 6 weeks for handling.

Your Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Batteries purchased at _____
(retail store name)

$2 REFUND

CHECK ONLY ONE:

1) ☐ **Alkaline Refund:** Attach 2 UPC symbols and numbers from C, D, AA or 9 volt packages.

2) ☐ **Heavy Duty Refund:** Attach 3 UPC symbols and numbers from C, D, AA or 9 volt packages.

HELP SPECIAL OLYMPICS. RAYOVAC will donate 50¢ to Special Olympics to help a special athlete in your state if we receive your refund request by January 18, 1984. MAIL EARLY and help handicapped Special Olympians.

Forget Sears Bank.

Sears Bank & Trust has changed its name to UnibancTrust. But you'll still find the same friendly people taking care of your financial needs the way Sears Bank has for 52 years. And that's worth remembering.

UnibancTrust
in the Sears Tower (312) 876-4200

Member F.D.I.C.

AIR FRANCE LE CLUB:
OUR CONCERN FOR YOUR COMFORT MAKES THE DIFFERENCE.

Our business class has more than a new name. Air France Le Club has an even stronger accent on comfort and service.

From the minute you check in at our special counter, you'll appreciate how much Air France understands and serves the needs of the business traveler.

On board, you'll discover a more spacious, private cabin, with wider, more comfortable seats, just eight across—and more legroom.

You'll enjoy unlimited complimentary drinks at your seat or at the new Air France Le Club bar.

We'll serve you "grande cuisine" — not on a single tray, but in separate courses, with a choice of entrées— the way a meal should be served.

And, we'll offer you little extras that help you relax or work on your way to Paris—travel kit, electromagnetic headphones, pillows, blankets, multi-language periodicals and more.

Enjoy Air France Le Club's combination of service and comfort. It's another example of our dedication to the business traveler.

AIR FRANCE

WE'RE AIMING EVEN HIGHER

WHILE SOME CARS MIGHT MAKE IT TO THE NEXT DECADE, STATISTICS SHOW VOLVOS COULD MAKE IT TO THE NEXT CENTURY.

Today people are trying to hold on to their cars longer than ever.

And while statistics show the average life expectancy of today's cars is eleven years, that figure pales in comparison to the life expectancy of today's Volvo.

Because statistics show the average life expectancy of a Volvo is over sixteen years.*

Which could mean over sixteen years of comfortable driving in seats equipped with adjustable lumbar supports that relieve tension and road fatigue.

Years of effortlessly maneuvering through parking lots due to power assisted rack and pinion steering that cuts one of the smallest turning circles of any car.

Years of clean air made possible by a Fresh Air Ventilation System that exhausts stale air from the passenger compartment, and helps prevent odors and fumes from ever getting inside.

If all this sounds like a sensible way to transport yourself to the next century, buy a Volvo.

Who knows?

By the year 2000 we may have a car that'll get you through that century, as well.

VOLVO
A car you can believe in.

*Based upon an actuarial analysis of 1981-1982 U.S. Registration Data conducted by Ken Warwick & Associates, Inc. Due to many factors including maintenance, driving conditions [illegible] at your Volvo dealer. © 1983 Volvo of America Corporation

MIDDLE EAST

"Arafat Is Finished"

A leader pinned against the sea, and eye-for-an-eye air strikes

"How can you ask me that question?" demanded Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat, after a reporter had inquired whether this was Arafat's last stand in the Middle East. "We are 5 million Palestinians.* We are not the red Indians. We know that we are the sole representatives of the Palestinian people." As he addressed a news conference in the Lebanese port city of Tripoli to show that he was alive and still fighting, Arafat smiled broadly and spoke as boldly as ever. When reporters asked him about his bandaged hand, he said that he had injured it slightly when he fell down some steps. But despite the brave performance, the P.L.O. chairman's prospects were dour indeed. Baddawi, the last of the Palestinian refugee camps loyal to Arafat, had been overrun by P.L.O. rebels backed by Syrian troops, tanks and artillery; the end of Arafat's long rule as head of a more or less united P.L.O. was at hand.

Throughout Lebanon last week, the search for peace suffered a series of setbacks. A five-day truce between P.L.O. factions ended abruptly on Tuesday when rebel forces attacked and seized the Baddawi camp, causing hundreds of deaths and forcing Arafat and some 4,000 troops still loyal to him to seek refuge in the heart of Tripoli. In Beirut, 45 miles to the south, an eight-week truce was frequently violated as "phantom artillerymen," presumably Druze, shelled predominantly Christian East Beirut and sporadically hit parts of the Muslim western quarters as well. The continuing peace negotiations among Lebanon's warring factions were hampered by bickering over some of the decisions made at the all-Lebanon conference in Geneva three weeks before. Lebanese President Amin Gemayel had planned to fly to Damascus to see Syrian President Hafez Assad, who is clearly the strongest factor in the continued fighting in Lebanon. But that trip had to be delayed when Assad underwent an appendectomy. In the meantime, Israeli and later French warplanes bombed and strafed positions in eastern Lebanon held by pro-Iranian Shi'ite Muslims believed to be responsible for the recent suicide bombings of American, French and Israeli headquarters in Lebanon. Theoretically, the "truce" in Beirut was still holding, but the pressures to resume all-out fighting were rising again like a thunderstorm over the Chouf.

In Tripoli, Arafat was surrounded on three sides by Syrian and rebel Palestinian forces and on the fourth by the Mediterranean. As he had done at Beirut in the summer of 1982, when he was fighting the Israelis instead of the Syrians, he delayed and postured as long as possible in the hope that some Arab states, and perhaps even the superpowers, would come to his rescue. The Soviet Union had already stressed to its Syrian clients the need to "overcome strife and restore unity" within the P.L.O., but the effect on the Syrians had been negligible. By the end of the week, even as Arafat's loyalists made a valiant effort to recapture the Baddawi camp, there were reports that the P.L.O chairman would be rescued from Tripoli by Italian or French naval vessels.

On Wednesday, Captain Ahmed Jebril of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command, a small, radical P.L.O. group with close ties to Libya and Syria, held a press conference in Baddawi, soon after the camp's capture by the anti-Arafat forces. Declared Jebril: "We stand today in Arafat's headquarters and command post. We have seen how he ran. Arafat is finished, and he has no alternative but to turn himself in to the revolution inside the P.L.O. so he may receive the punishment he deserves."

Arafat has been losing his power base ever since his forced evacuation from Beirut last year. Then, last May, a Syrian-backed rebellion broke out within the P.L.O.'s ranks. The rebels were angry with Arafat for having left Beirut and for taking what they regarded as too moderate a line on future negotiations with Israel. They resented his talks with King Hussein of Jordan a short time earlier and his growing quarrel with Assad.

By midsummer, Arafat loyalists had been pushed out of the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon and into the Tripoli area, where Arafat joined them in September. Now, assuming he can manage an escape from Tripoli, he might try to resume the negotiations with King Hussein. But whether Hussein or anyone else would still be interested in talking to a P.L.O. leader who has lost his army is uncertain.

The irony is that Arafat retains much of his former popularity with the Palestinian people. Late last week an angry throng of 2,000 Arafat supporters gathered near Tripoli, but rebels fired on the crowd, killing 25. Arafat remains the symbol of the Palestinian cause, and he still has the support of a clear majority in the Palestine National Council, the P.L.O.'s *de facto* parliament. But because of his indecisiveness, excessive caution and, most important, the heavy hand of Syria's Assad, Arafat has lost control of his fighting force.

So far, the rebels do not appear to have considered very seriously how much the ouster of Arafat could cost the P.L.O.

As fighting rages around Tripoli, a rebel P.L.O. tank moves through the Baddawi refugee camp

Arafat waves a bandaged hand at reporters

His prospects were dour indeed.

*Most experts put the figure at about 4 million

Heaven Can't Wait

The Israeli and French retaliatory air strikes last week may have destroyed the headquarters of the Shi'ite Muslim militia called Islamic Amal, but the attacks could not hope to wipe out the group's suicidal zeal. For the followers of Shi'ite extremists, especially supporters of Iran's Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, dying in a jihad, or "holy war," means martyrdom and a guaranteed place in heaven. With the recent suicide bombings of the U.S., French and Israeli headquarters in Lebanon, radical Shi'ite groups have become a small but potentially destabilizing force in Lebanon. Says an Israeli intelligence official: "We have the makings of a jihad on our borders."

Since the 7th century, when the death of the Prophet Muhammad precipitated the division of Islam between Sunnis and Shi'ites, the Shi'ites have stressed martyrdom as a way of atonement. About 20% of the world's 750 million Muslims are Shi'ites and they are the dominant majority in Iran. In Lebanon, Shi'ites outnumber Sunnis 3 to 2, but are overshadowed by the Sunnis in wealth and influence. Over the past few years, as the political situation in Lebanon deteriorated, the Shi'ite community grew susceptible to the radical religious politics of Iran's Khomeini. In the spring of 1982, Hussein Musawi, then the leader of the military wing of Amal, the country's dominant Shi'ite organization, accused the group's leader, Nabih Berri, of not adhering to the Ayatullah's edicts. The gaunt and bearded Musawi left Beirut with several hundred followers, mostly hard-core fighters. He promptly established the new faction of Islamic Amal in Baalbek, some 40 miles away in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

REZA/SIPA—BLACK STAR

Musawi under Khomeini's picture

Musawi's headquarters soon attracted other zealots, including the Hizballah (Party of God), a group of fanatical pro-Khomeini Shi'ite clerics. During last year's Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, Musawi was joined by 300 Iranian Revolutionary Guards who had entered the country through Syria with the avowed intention of battling the Israelis. Instead, the Guards stayed in Baalbek to help Musawi consolidate his grip. As the number of Guards grew to some 1,000 during the next few months, they transformed the city and its environs into a miniature Iranian state. They lectured the locals on Khomeini's teachings, banned liquor and forced women to wear headscarfs and to don traditional, modest dresses. Posters of the Ayatullah sprouted everywhere.

The Iranians went even further than that, according to Israeli intelligence officials. At the camp destroyed by the Israelis last week, the Revolutionary Guards were instructing Lebanese Shi'ites in the use of small arms and explosives. The two groups, however, had separate chains of command. The Iranians were led by Ayatullah Fazlollah Mahallati, who kept an office in Tehran but often shuttled between Damascus and Baalbek, and Mohammed Kanaani, an Iranian military officer. The Lebanese Shi'ites were directed by Musawi and Iranian officers. Though neither the Iranians nor the Shi'ites were directly controlled by the Syrians, most of their activities were in fact coordinated with Damascus. Baalbek also boasted a workshop for building car bombs. The craftsmanship could be frighteningly professional: in one captured Mercedes, the seats, dashboard and floor were made of TNT and repainted to look like an ordinary interior.

Israeli intelligence officials believe that the attacks against the Americans, French and Israelis were carried out by Iranian drivers. The Syrians are said to have supplied intelligence about the targets and cleared the roads for the deadly vehicles. The Israelis, moreover, estimate that many Iranians are still in the triangle formed by Baalbek, Riyaq and Chtaura, and operate bases in the Bekaa. Says an Israeli antiterror expert: "They are all potential suicidal terrorists."

in diplomatic and political prestige. Nor have they acknowledged how vulnerable their organization would become if it were operating solely at the whim of the Syrians. The Israelis, on the other hand, would welcome such a change. Said David Kimche, director general of the Israeli foreign ministry: "As long as the P.L.O. is independent, we have difficulty pinning down the responsibility for terrorism. But if the P.L.O. becomes a Syrian tool, then at least we will always have an address."

While the struggle within the P.L.O. was being played out in Tripoli, a long-awaited act of revenge was taking place in the Bekaa Valley. On Wednesday, the Israelis staged a reprisal raid against the pro-Iranian Shi'ite Muslim splinter group, known as Islamic Amal, which is believed responsible for the suicide attacks that killed 28 Israeli soldiers on Nov. 4, as well as 239 American servicemen and 58 French paratroopers on Oct. 23. Four Israeli warplanes, ejecting thermal balloons in their wake in order to confound heat-seeking surface-to-air missiles, attacked a training camp and an ammunition dump belonging to the Islamic Amal militia.

That night in Paris, French President François Mitterrand told his countrymen in a television interview: "You can be sure that the crime of Oct. 23 will not go unpunished." Scarcely 17 hours later, 14 French Super Etendard fighter-bombers from the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau* staged a 35-minute attack on the same region of the Bekaa Valley, leveling barracks and training bases of the Shi'ite extremists. Among the targets was the ancient city of Baalbek's Khawwam Hotel, the command headquarters of the estimated 1,000 Iranian Islamic revolutionary guards who have been operating in the Bekaa Valley for the past 18 months *(see box)*. The next step could be a retaliatory strike by the U.S., though officials in Washington were undecided about whether the U.S. had more to gain by demonstrating its vengefulness in the face of a terrorist act or by acting with restraint. Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlass was quoted by a Lebanese magazine as threatening "kamikaze attacks" on U.S. warships in the event of an American raid on Syrian positions.

In the meantime, random firing of rockets and artillery broke out again around Beirut. Shells were falling in the neighborhood of the presidential palace as Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam arrived for a talk with President Gemayel. The immediate problem is Syria's insistence that Lebanon's withdrawal agreement with Israel be abrogated or at least radically modified. Summarizing the impasse, a former Lebanese Cabinet minister declared bitterly: "The Syrian position is clear: simple intransigence. All this shelling is simply a means of keeping up the pressure on Gemayel." —***By William E. Smith. Reported by Barry Hillenbrand/Tripoli and Roberto Suro/Beirut***

In a live, closed circuit TV teleconference, Merrill Lynch answers your question:

"WHAT SHOULD I DO WITH MY AT&T?"

Thursday, December 1, live from Wall Street, we're bringing together our leading specialists for a conference on closed circuit TV. They'll give you a comprehensive analysis that will help you answer the question: "What should I do with my AT&T?"

Your decision will depend, of course, on your individual investment objectives; whether you are seeking income, growth or any combination of the two. So before making your move, learn all about the opportunities open to you as a result of the AT&T divestiture.

You'll hear information-packed reports from our top-rated research team on the seven new phone companies and the reorganized AT&T: their strengths, management and projected performance in the economic and market conditions foreseen for 1984. You'll get ideas for consolidating your AT&T shares into one fund and other investment alternatives. And you'll learn more about the potential of the increasingly competitive telecommunications industry.

Following the televised portion, a panel of local Merrill Lynch specialists will answer your individual questions in full, to help you make your decisions.

If you own AT&T or are looking for exciting new investments, don't miss this event. Admission is free but seats are limited. To make your reservations and get full information about when and where to see this vital program call the number below.

1 800 637-7455 EXT. 1427

Merrill Lynch

A breed apart.

TELECONFERENCE SITES

Albany	Boston	Cincinnati	Detroit	Jackson	Milwaukee	New Orleans	Phoenix	San Antonio	St. Louis
Atlanta	Buffalo	Cleveland	Ft. Lauderdale	Jacksonville	Minneapolis	New York	Pittsburgh	San Francisco	Tampa
Baltimore	Charlottesville	Columbus	Greensboro	Kansas City	Morristown	Orange County	Providence	Sarasota	Tulsa
Birmingham	Cherry Hill	Dallas	Houston	Long Island	Nashville	Orlando	Raleigh	Seattle	Washington
Boise	Chicago	Denver	Indianapolis	Los Angeles	New Haven	Palo Alto	Salt Lake City	Stamford	West Palm Beach
									Westchester

Copyright 1983 Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner & Smith Inc. Member SIPC

CYPRUS

The Reversible Republic

Minority Turks set up a separate state, but hint at compromise

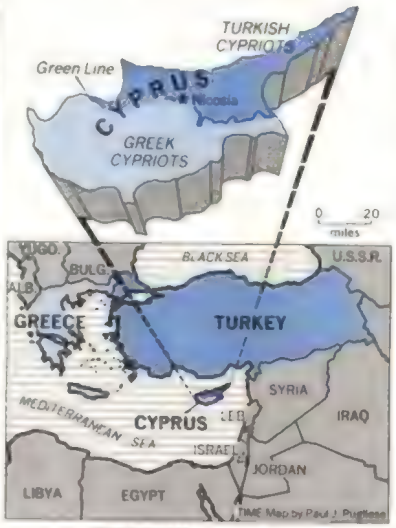
"Expressing the legitimate and irrepressible will of the Turkish Cypriot people . . . we hereby declare before the world and history the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent state."

His audience, as Turkish Cypriot Leader Rauf Denktash shrewdly surmised, was far larger than the modest throng that gathered in Nicosia last week to cheer his proclamation of a new Turkish Cypriot republic on the divided Mediterranean island. It was a ringing declaration, but as soon as it was made public, Turkish Cypriot officials added an odd qualifier. The decision, they said, was not irreversible: what Denktash really had in mind was to call the world's attention to Turkish Cypriot demands, frustrated so far, for a federated Cyprus. Under the Denktash formula, equal political weight would be given to the island's squabbling communities of 500,000 ethnic Greeks and 120,000 ethnic Turks.

Greek Cypriots across the "green line" that separates the two communities heard Denktash's lofty words, but were not impressed by the qualifier. An infuriated President Spyros Kyprianou demanded that the action "be condemned by everybody throughout the world." In Athens, the government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou was equally outraged at what it perceived to be another threat to Cyprus' Greeks. In Ankara, where a caretaker government is running the country until the installation of newly elected Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, officials who normally support Denktash insisted that they were as stunned as everyone else.

Nor were they the only ones troubled by the most serious crisis the island has faced since the 1974 invasion by Turkish troops. Because Denktash's action exacerbated already crackling tensions between Greece and Turkey, two NATO allies, it threatened further disruption on the alliance's southern flank at the very moment that NATO faces the volatile issue of deploying U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Groused the left-leaning Paris daily *Libération*: "The storm surrounding the Euromissiles wasn't enough. Cyprus had to be thrown in as well."

The only nation that recognized the new republic in the course of the week was, not surprisingly, Turkey. But even the Turks had reservations. "Wouldn't it have been better," asked Ozal after being informed of Denktash's proclamation by President Kenan Evren, "to do that after first strengthening Turkish Cyprus economically?"



ALPERT—KEYSTONE

Kyprianou in Nicosia, left; Denktash at U.N. headquarters

Exacerbating tensions between two key NATO allies.

Elsewhere there was mostly hostility. French President François Mitterrand's government denounced the Denktash decision "without reservation." Declared Mitterrand coldly: "I don't think that the great powers want to involve themselves in this issue and thereby place an additional burden on those matters already in dispute." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher suggested that, as the guarantors of Cyprus' independence under the 1960 treaty, Britain, Greece and Turkey discuss the problem. Greece, however, objected to face-to-face talks with Ankara, forcing Thatcher to seek a compromise formula for negotiations. The issue ultimately went before the U.N. Security Council, which voted to ask the Turkish Cypriots to withdraw their unilateral declaration of independence.

Washington was as taken aback as other governments. Finding itself in a no-win situation vis-à-vis two key allies, the U.S. responded with an unusually blunt statement that not only "condemned" the idea of a Turkish Cypriot republic but called on other nations to refuse to recognize it. Only three days before, Congress had passed a $1 billion aid bill for Turkey.

Denktash admitted that he had timed his announcement to take advantage of the interregnum in Ankara before Ozal is installed. "I caught them by surprise," he explained. "They would not have had me do this had they known in time." But his move was not taken solely with Ankara in mind. Denktash also sought to gain international attention, impatient as he is over the stalemate in negotiations with the Greeks. Moreover, some observers insist, he has personal ambitions. "He wouldn't be happy being the governor of a Turkish province [of a federal Cypriot republic]," said a Western diplomat last week.

Through years of off-and-on talks between the two communities, the Turkish Cypriots have insisted that the island's intercommunal problem cannot be solved on an international basis, but must be settled at home—and on the basis of federation. Neither side has been willing to compromise. Hostilities between the two communities go back for generations; outright separation has been in effect since 1974 when right-wing Greek Cypriots favoring *enosis* (union) with Greece took power in Nicosia in a coup, thus triggering the Turkish invasion. Since then, the Turkish-dominated part of the island has managed to survive only with economic help from Ankara, which currently provides half the annual budget of $120 million along with millions more in development funds.

The Greek Cypriots, for their part, run a robust enough economy. But they are frustrated politically and demand not only the withdrawal of the 20,000 Turkish "occupation" troops but also the return of Greek Cypriots to areas they were forced to abandon after 1974. They agree in principle to a federated state but are vague about the kind of equality Denktash demands for his outnumbered minority. Turkish Cypriot leaders insisted last week that the federation option remains open despite the proclamation of the republic; indeed, they explained, the creation of a Turkish Cypriot state would provide the weight necessary for successful negotiations with the Greek community. "We are looking for a bizonal, bicommunal federal republic," said Turkish Cypriot Foreign Minister Kenan Atakol. "In our declaration we said that we extended a peaceful hand to the Greek Cypriots. If they refuse to negotiate with us, the declaration will show the whole world that we believe we have as much right to self-determination as the Greek Cypriots have." —*By Spencer Davidson. Reported by Barry Kalb/Nicosia and Wilton Wynn/Rome*

IT'S FILTERED!
LUCKY STRIKE
LOW TAR FILTERS
LUCKY STRIKES AGAIN
The filter says mild.
The name says taste.
Also available in soft pack
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

LINE ONE SERVICE IS HERE TO KEEP CHICAGO'S BUSINESS MOVING.

LINE ONE℠ Mobile Service, from Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., is the revolutionary new mobile phone service that has made Chicago this country's first cellular telephone city.

LINE ONE Service is here to make sure you keep your business moving while you're on the move. Keeping in touch even when you're on the road is essential if you're going to keep on top.

And keeping in touch is only the beginning. With LINE ONE Service you've got time with just your phone to discuss plans, organize your business, talk over key issues with people. LINE ONE Service can make your car time the most productive time of your day.

LINE ONE Service is a product of Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., which upon divestiture from AT&T, will become a part of Ameritech, the parent of the Bell telephone companies for the Great Lakes area.

With LINE ONE Service you know you're getting Bell quality because our system was developed by Bell Laboratories. Our advanced cellular service is a technological breakthrough in mobile communications. The quality we've built in means you have your own line, the tone is clear, and you can call or be called from anywhere in the world.

If you're in your car more than 30 minutes each day, LINE ONE Service is no option. It's the one connection you need if you're going anywhere in business.℠

For information on how to buy LINE ONE Service today, and how to reach your nearest LINE ONE Authorized Agent, write: Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc., 1501 Woodfield Road, Suite 200E, Schaumburg, IL 60195, or call **1-800-662-4531.**

LINE ONE℠
MOBILE SERVICE

© Copyright 1983 Ameritech Mobile Communications, Inc.

AMERITECH MOBILE COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

GREECE

Death in Athens

A commemorative murder

As he did every weekday at 7 a.m., Captain George Tsantes stepped into the back seat of a black Plymouth sedan outside his home in Kifissia, a northern suburb of Athens, for the 30-minute drive to his office in downtown Athens. This time, however, two men on a Vespa motor scooter were shadowing him. When the car stopped for a red light, the scooter zoomed alongside, and a gunman fired seven shots from a .45-cal. pistol, killing Tsantes instantly and fatally wounding his driver.

Tsantes, 53, was the first American to be killed by terrorists in Athens since Dec. 23, 1975, when CIA Station Chief Richard Welch was shot down outside his home by a gunman with a .45-cal. pistol. Hours after last week's shooting, a man telephoned the Greek daily *Elefterotypia* and claimed responsibility for the killing on behalf of the 17th November Revolutionary Organization, the group that took responsibility for Welch's assassination. Ballistics tests later showed that Tsantes had been shot with the same gun that killed Welch.

Tsantes, however, was not so obvious a target. Born in New York City of Greek immigrant parents, the highly decorated Viet Nam veteran was eager to be posted to Athens. Since arriving there last March, he had been chief of the naval section of the Joint U.S. Military Aid Group, Greece (JUSMAGG), which administers American military aid programs. Established after World War II, JUSMAGG acquired a reputation among Greeks for working with the CIA to influence domestic politics, though in recent years its activities had been sharply curtailed. Left-wing Athens newspapers said last week that Tsantes was a CIA agent, perhaps even the agency's Athens station chief. The U.S. embassy denied the report.

Tsantes

Greek authorities know little about the 17th November group except the origin of its name: a bloody 1973 uprising by students at Athens Polytechnic School against the U.S.-backed military junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. The Tsantes slaying was clearly timed to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Polytechnic rebellion. Greek authorities are worried about the rise of Athens as a focus of terrorism. Tsantes' killing was the third political murder in the city since August. The other victims were an aide to P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat and a security officer at the Jordanian embassy. In each of the assassinations, the killers left behind little evidence. ■

Shoppers hoping to buy rationed goods queue outside a Warsaw food store before opening time

POLAND

Dial an Unappetizing Choice

A butterfingered regime apologizes, but hikes prices anyway

Raising food prices is a risky undertaking in Poland. Former Communist Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka fell from power in 1970 partly because of unrest over food price hikes, and the organizing drive that produced Solidarity was born out of anger over 1980 increases. With such memories still painfully fresh, the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski last week began imposing the third set of price increases since martial law was declared in December 1981 and the first since it was lifted last July. The increases were sure to appear at the top of the agenda when Communist Party officials gathered at week's end for the 14th plenary session of the United Workers' Party. This time, however, the people will have a say in what prices are raised.

Because of an agreement reached in July to increase payments for farmers' crops, Poles will have to shell out as much as $1.72 billion more at the grocery counter to recoup the expenditure beginning next Jan. 1. The authorities have proposed three schemes that would each produce the same total revenue but would differ in how much individual prices are raised. In a rare bow to customer preference, Poles are permitted to vote for the plan they dislike the least by calling special telephone numbers at government offices and television stations.

If the phone-in gimmick caught consumers by surprise, the price hikes did not. They were part of a series of painful economic measures announced in February 1982. Since then, Poland's foreign debt has remained at $26 billion, while the economy as a whole has stagnated. The Polish standard of living, many economists agree, has dropped by about 25%. Poles were particularly outraged by the government's announcement that butter would be rationed. The move came barely a month after officials had given public assurances that no such plan was being considered. Thousands of housewives quickly stormed shops to squabble over the blocks of butter that were still available, scuffling with shopkeepers and shouting abuse at passing militia patrols.

Caught off balance by mounting anger over its butterfingered handling of the affair, the government finally relented. The announcement of rationing, it said in a rare concession of fault, "testified to a lack of sufficient sensitivity to the public reception." More astonishing was what came next in the official communiqué: "The government apologizes to citizens, especially to women, for the trouble and anxiety." Looking for other ways to dampen the protests, Jaruzelski sacked Deputy Minister of Distribution and Services Edward Szymanski. Andrzej Bors, another deputy, was allowed to resign.

Though the butter rationing was apparently unrelated to the new price increases, the net effect of the moves was to put Poles in a rancid mood. Calls to the hot lines to register preferences among the three plans were trickling in last week at the rate of only ten an hour, mainly because some callers spent up to 30 minutes asking questions. Not all the inquiries were polite: some calls have consisted of nothing but a string of obscenities.

Indeed, the choices are unappetizing. The price for a kilogram of ham, for example, would rise from the current $5.78 to $7.36 under plan 1, to $7.89 under plan 2 and to $8.42 under plan 3. Edam cheese would go from $2.10 per kg now to $2.42 under plans 1 and 2 and to $2.65 under plan 3. The particularly large price increases of plan 3 would be partly offset by higher subsidies to below-average incomes. While plans 1 and 2 would boost incomes of less than $74 a month by $3, plan 3 would provide a $4 subsidy to workers earning $84 a month or less.

At the same time the government was struggling with the food-price problem, it was trying to raise money for a new hospital in Lodz to be named in honor of the nation's mothers. The latest Polish joke: the hospital will be filled with housewives exhausted from waiting in food lines. ■

CENTRAL AMERICA

Once More onto the Beach

War games in Honduras, war jitters in Nicaragua

As 24 landing craft surged into the shallows off the white sandy beaches, carrying hundreds of U.S. Marines in tropical camouflage gear, Harrier jump jets streaked overhead. A six-ship task force was anchored two miles out to sea, while clattering Cobra helicopter gunships provided cover. After landing, the troops pressed forward through swampy terrain. In about two hours they had seized their first objective, an airport twelve miles inland.

Less than four weeks after the invasion of Grenada, U.S. soldiers once again had launched an amphibious assault in the hemisphere. But this time no one shot back. The landing at Puerto Castilla on Honduras' northern coast marked the beginning of a seven-day training mission with 700 Honduran troops. It was part of a series of joint military exercises involving the U.S. and its staunchly anti-Communist ally. Though billed as routine, Big Pine II, as the exercises are called, reflected a major buildup of U.S. military might aimed largely at intimidating Honduras' southern neighbor, Marxist-led Nicaragua.

U.S. amphibious landing craft surge toward the beach at Puerto Castilla during Big Pine II

The rattled nerves in Managua could only have pleased Washington.

The choice of Honduras was yet another sign of that country's growing role in the Reagan Administration's Central American strategy. Since 1982, the government of President Roberto Suazo Córdova, 56, has allowed American-backed anti-Sandinista rebels to use Honduras as a staging ground for raids into Nicaragua. The U.S. has built new concrete runways capable of landing C-130 military transport planes and has installed a radar station on Tiger Island in the Gulf of Fonseca, while 6,000 Honduran soldiers, roughly half the nation's army, are being taught American field tactics. In turn, U.S. troops have gained valuable jungle-combat training. The arrival of 1,800 Marines last week brought the number of U.S. combat troops in Honduras to more than 5,000.

Already shaken by the assault on Grenada, the Sandinista regime responded to last week's U.S. muscle-flexing by claiming that an invasion was imminent and stepping up the nation's preparations for war. Since the beginning of the month, Managua has echoed with the sound of rifle fire as civilians crawled on their stomachs and practiced elementary combat maneuvers under the eye of military instructors. Last week large headlines in the government-controlled newspaper *Barricada* and the pro-government daily *Nuevo Diario* shouted EVERYONE TO THE DEFENSE and BOMBS CAN FALL ON EVERYONE. Radio stations regularly announced that militia units on the Honduran border were standing by for an air-and-land invasion expected at any moment.

The alert may have been part of an attempt by the Sandinista regime to revive flagging popular support for its policies. But Nicaraguan leaders also seemed convinced that an attack is in the offing. Officials said they would guarantee the safety of all foreign nationals, including U.S. embassy personnel. Such assurances were presumably aimed at preventing invaders from justifying an assault on the grounds of rescuing citizens. During a visit to Panama for talks with President Ricardo de la Espriella, Nicaraguan Junta Leader Daniel Ortega Saavedra laid out a number of possible scenarios for an invasion, including an incursion by rebels based in Honduras or Costa Rica.

As if to confirm some of Ortega's worst fears, the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.) announced last week that it had launched a new "general offensive" against the Sandinista government. Meanwhile, a Nicaraguan radio station claimed that several hundred *contras* who support former Sandinista Leader Edén Pastora Gómez were massing on the Costa Rican border. The rebels said they were fighting in ten separate locations in southern Nicaragua, though the Sandinistas acknowledged fighting in only one. The rebel announcement came as something of an embarrassment to Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge. Even as the attacks were under way, Monge had been reaffirming that Costa Rica was "permanently neutral" in international conflicts.

U.S. officials professed bemusement over Nicaragua's anxiety. The successful invasion of the flyspeck island of Grenada, they insisted, provided no precedent for an offensive against Nicaragua's well-armed and well-trained combined regular army and militia force of 100,000. "The fears of the government are exaggerated," insisted U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton in Managua. "You have to understand that Grenada and Nicaragua are completely different countries and situations." Said a State Department official in Washington: "It's a terrible idea. It's impractical and impolitic. It's also absolutely unnecessary."

Still, the rattled nerves in Managua could only have pleased the Reagan Administration in Washington, which has long sought to curb Nicaraguan support for leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. The four nations that form the so-called Contadora Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) announced last week that all the region's governments, including even a wary Nicaragua, had agreed on a schedule for substantive discussions about a comprehensive Central American peace plan. If the Big Pine II exercises and Grenada invasion have encouraged Nicaragua's cooperation, said a State Department official tartly, "so much the better."

A negotiated settlement remains only a distant possibility. In the meantime, the Reagan Administration remains committed to a strategy of countering Nicaraguan-sponsored insurgency with covert CIA support for anti-Sandinista rebels. That policy has drawn increasing attacks on Capitol Hill from legislators who believe the real aim is to destabilize and, if possible, overthrow the Nicaraguan regime. Led by Massachusetts Democrat Edward Boland, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, opponents in the House tried to block money for further covert aid to the rebels. A Senate bill, however, retained funding for continued covert support. After a compromise reached last week, the *contras* will receive $24 million.

The Administration has also come

NEW KODAMATIC™ TRIMPRINT™ INSTANT COLOR FILM.

KODAK WILL CHANGE YOUR IMAGE OF INSTANT PHOTOGRAPHY.

1 Watch the brilliant color develop before your eyes.

2 Then, any time after an hour, you can lift the picture off the back.

3 Now you have a Trimprint™ without a bulky back. You can even trim it or crop it.

4 It's so thin, it fits where other instant pictures can't. Keep it in an album with your other treasured prints.

This is the most versatile instant film ever, with great color by Kodak. Share it in an instant. Then keep it like a regular print. It's the instant you and your photo album have been waiting for. New Kodamatic™ Trimprint Instant Color Film.
Only for Kodamatic cameras. And only Kodak could pull it off.

Official Film
XIV Olympic
Winter Games

IT'S AN INSTANT PRINT.
IT'S A REGULAR PRINT.
IT'S A TRIMPRINT.™

© Eastman Kodak Company, 1983

under mounting criticism in Congress and elsewhere for its policies in El Salvador. Since 1979, right-wing death squads that are backed, and in many cases staffed, by the military and by government security forces have murdered thousands of people suspected of leftist sympathies. Stung by charges that it has not pressed the government of Alvaro Magaña hard enough on the matter, the White House sent Under Secretary of Defense Fred Iklé to San Salvador two weeks ago to demand action. In a major policy statement delivered in Dallas after his return, Iklé declared that "the death squads of the violent right and the death squads of the guerrillas fight not each other but the democratic center and the government that seeks to hold fair and open elections." He added: "If we want to help democracy and human rights, both must be defeated."

This message apparently was not enough to prevent yet another string of atrocities. In Copapayo, some 45 miles northeast of San Salvador, survivors told foreign journalists last week that troops of El Salvador's elite Atlacatl battalion herded at least 20 women and children into a house, then turned machine guns on them. In a separate incident near by, the soldiers reportedly fired on a group of more than 30 civilians, killing some outright and forcing others into a lake, where they drowned. Said a guerrilla boastfully: "This type of behavior reflects the agony of an army that can't defeat us on the battlefield." ***—By Kenneth W. Banta. Reported by Timothy Loughran/Managua and David DeVoss/Tegucigalpa***

ARGENTINA

Joining the Club

Now there are ten members

Scarcely three weeks before the inauguration of a new civilian government, the head of Argentina's atomic energy commission, Rear Admiral Carlos Castro Madero, made an announcement that U.S. experts had been warily expecting for some time: Argentina has become the tenth nation capable of producing enriched uranium and thus of making an atomic bomb. The others: the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, which have bombs, plus West Germany, The Netherlands, Japan and South Africa.

Argentina has steadfastly refused to sign the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty or to submit most of its atomic facilities to international inspection. It has always insisted that it would use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Even so, its new-found nuclear prowess inevitably will give Argentina added clout in its disputes with Britain over the Falkland Islands and with Chile over the Beagle Channel at the tip of South America. U.S. intelligence sources estimate that Argentina, should it choose to do so, would be able to produce a nuclear weapon in one to five years. ■

A friend indeed: Reagan greets Chun in the South Korean capital

SOUTH KOREA

When the Cheering Stopped

Reagan says farewell to Seoul, but the glow lingers on

The exultant crowds were gone, the banners proclaiming WE ALL LOVE YOU RON AND NANCY and FOR HE'S A JOLLY GOOD FELLOW no longer festooned the broad avenues of downtown Seoul. But a week after Ronald Reagan's three-day visit, South Korean officials were still aglow over the President's picture-perfect tour. For a government still recovering from the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 last September and from the terrorist bombing in Rangoon last month that killed 16 South Korean officials, the Reagan trip was a welcome morale booster. Most important, the visit assured perpetually edgy Seoul of the U.S. commitment to its defense, especially against its northern neighbor.

The government also was heartened by the way Reagan handled the topic of human rights, a prickly issue between the two countries since the days of the Carter Administration. South Korean President Chun Boo Hwan sees dissent as grist for the propaganda mills of North Korea and thus tantamount to treason. Reagan has some sympathy for Chun's position, and during the visit he applauded South Korea for its "continued progress toward the broadening of democracy." At one point, during a reception at the U.S. embassy, the President's text called for him to mention "human rights." Aware that the phrase nettles Chun, Reagan substituted "democratic rights."

Reagan's delicacy, however, did not impress government opponents. According to South Korea's National Council of Churches, about 400 political prisoners are in the country's jails, while another 400 political prisoners are banned from holding office. The opposition was particularly incensed that Chun had placed several hundred dissidents, including priests and journalists, under house arrest for the duration of the trip. Said Kim Young Sam, the leading dissident politician in Seoul: "I had no objection to Mr. Reagan coming here, but his visit should not result in support for the dictatorial regime."

Most South Koreans remain unperturbed by President Chun's policies. With the economy still recovering from the worldwide recession, the growing middle class seems to prefer stability to the unrest that it fears would accompany a relaxation of political repression. Still, Chun is not considered personally popular, partly because many South Koreans remember the bloody riots that followed his rise to power in 1980. His efforts to exert greater control over the nation's industries failed, though he is given credit for reviving the economy and building South Korea's diplomatic ties, most notably with Third World countries like Burma and Sri Lanka.

Chun continues to pledge that he will step down and that elections will be held in 1988, when his seven-year term expires. But no obvious successor stands in line and Chun is unlikely to let opposition leaders return to the fray. Some Western diplomats suspect, as a result, that he will attempt to stay in office. Reagan seemed to discourage that notion, however, when he praised Chun's plan "for a constitutional transfer of power."

If Chun was heartened by the Reagan trip, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone seemed pleased with the President's three-day visit to Japan. Hoping to ride the wave of favorable publicity that accompanied his meetings with Reagan—and to clear the air after last month's bribery conviction of his mentor, former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka—Nakasone last week announced his intention to dissolve the lower house of the Diet and call general elections for Dec. 18. ■

CHINA

Battling "Spiritual Pollution"

The government tries to close the door on Western influence

When Chinese Leader Deng Xiaoping decreed an "open door" policy for foreign capital and technology a few years ago, he somberly warned his people that "the penetration of bourgeois ideas is inevitable." Sure enough, leggy beauties now glide along sleek runways in Peking modeling the latest Pierre Cardin fashions. Not far away, well-heeled tourists tuck into French cuisine at Cardin's elegant new Maxim's de Pékin. Even in rustic glades, jeans-clad teen-agers blast out punk rock from ubiquitous cassette players. Free enterprise has also brought in its wake less innocent forms of freedom. Earlier this year, *Story*, a tabloid filled with titillating tales of concubines and libertines, was attracting 2 million readers around the country and, according to one Chinese press report, subscriptions from 700 of the 800 pupils at a Shanghai middle school.

The inroads of Western decadence have apparently persuaded the government that it is time to start closing the door. *Story*, which was recently suppressed, became one of the first victims of China's newest and most novel political campaign. For the past month authorities have been waging a war to eliminate "spiritual pollution," a deliberately vague term that embraces every manner of bourgeois import from erotica to existentialism. According to Communist Party Propaganda Chief Deng Liqun, spiritual pollution includes "obscene, barbarous or reactionary materials, vulgar taste in artistic performances, indulgence in individualism" and statements that "run counter to the country's social system." Ostensibly aimed at those with a taste for capitalist pleasures, the purge has begun to descend on any artist or intellectual who seems reluctant to promote the orthodox Communist vision.

Many of the first signs of a cultural crackdown were exquisitely subtle. Premier Zhao Ziyang quietly forsook his Western suits for Mao jackets. The Peking municipal government ordered its employees to shave off their mustaches. The capital's leading hairdressing salon announced that it would no longer give men permanents. Many of the first casualties were similarly obscure: a Peking shopworker who procured two illustrated sex manuals from a Hong Kong businessman and reproduced 7,000 lucrative photos of their choicest scenes; an enterprising commune in Fujian province that used its pooled resources to acquire twelve video recorders and 16 pornographic tapes, then charged viewers $5 admission (about four days' wages for the average urban worker).

But Western influence has apparently gone far beyond skin flicks and designer fashions, and last week the drive turned serious. Hu Jiwei, director of *People's Daily*, was forced to resign, and Wang Ruoshui, one of the paper's three deputy editors in chief, was dismissed. Their apparent crime: printing a scholarly article eight months ago that dared to suggest that "alienation," a term reserved by Karl Marx for decadent capitalism, might actually be applicable to Chinese socialism as well.

Ironically, the government almost invited such license as it became more and more lenient. Earlier this year, for example, it tolerated a flowering of experimental and unorthodox dramas. Playwright Gao Xingjian's *Bus Stop* presented a story about eight people awaiting a bus that never arrives. Conspicuously absent were all the trappings of conventional Chinese drama: plot, moral and exhortation. Meanwhile, thousands of citizens were flocking to a production of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, directed by Miller himself at Peking's prestigious Capital Theater. The spectators sympathized so warmly with Bourgeois Protagonist Willy Loman that many left the theater in tears.

Bringing Western styles to Eastern heads

Posh restaurants, punk rock and porn.

Such adventurous cultural expansion has accompanied, and maybe encouraged, less welcome winds from the West: a questioning of authority, a sense of ambiguity, even a loss of faith. "Chinese young people don't believe in anything any more," complains one young writer. With 20% of the urban young in China less than fully employed, and perhaps all of them sharing the disenchantment that is a legacy of the Cultural Revolution, it is small wonder that college students are said to embrace Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre's views of alienation. Indeed, before the crackdown, "alienation" had become a rallying cry for those who entertained unauthorized views. According to the official press, 600 articles on alienation have darkened Chinese journals since 1978. The most celebrated essay appeared last March in *People's Daily* over the name of Zhou Yang, 76, a veteran of previous ideological shifts and a senior member of the party's Central Committee. Zhou frankly contended that the principle of alienation could exist even under socialism.

Zhou's unsettling thesis led to a series of official rebukes. Earlier this month, *People's Daily* vilified the "depressed" notion of "alienation in socialism" and complained of "some people who go so far as to take the socialist system itself for alienation." Then the paper began running a stream of self-criticisms, in which Zhou repented of "betraying the party and the people's trust." Finally, the two editors who had countenanced Zhou's original article were ousted, even though their antileftist sentiments had not long ago been embraced by Deng himself.

Despite the crackdown, the 40 million-member Communist Party has gone out of its way to avoid raising memories of the other purges that have scarred China's recent history. Said an official editorial last week: "Any campaign or drive like those of the past is strongly banned. Civilized methods must be used to correct uncivilized behavior." Meanwhile, the government's new assault on "bourgeois" decadence has perplexingly coincided with, and sometimes overlapped, its official month-old purge against diehard leftists and other remnants of the Cultural Revolution. As the ruling party has taken one step to the left, then one to the right, the nation as a whole has been kept constantly off balance.

Neither the direction nor the duration of the campaign against spiritual pollution can be predicted. Some observers in Peking suggest that Deng may be punishing "rightists" in order to protect himself against attacks from the left; others suspect that the current campaign, like others before it, may have already moved further and faster than was intended. With the government seesawing between its commitment to progress and its loyalty to doctrine, nobody knows which is the safest position to assume. As one typically contradictory press commentary declared last week: "Mao's thought was essentially correct. This can be seen from his mistakes." —*By Pico Iyer. Reported by David Aikman/Peking*

COVER STORY

That Year Is Almost Here

But George Orwell's message for 1984 is bigger than Big Brother

He thought it was "a good idea ruined," that futuristic fable he had planned on calling *The Last Man in Europe*. But he was always pessimistic about his own writing. This time the gloom was deepened by illness. His tuberculosis had worsened. The task of typing and revising the manuscript had broken him physically. He lay in a sanatorium bed when his book was published, in June 1949; the name that appeared on its cover was *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

Come Jan. 1, the fictional date of George Orwell's final and most famous book becomes fact at last. It is a looking-glass anniversary, a remembrance of things future, and an accidental one at that. Orwell's manuscript, which has just resurfaced after years in a private collection, reveals that the author had considered both 1980 and 1982 for the time of his story. So what is about to happen might have occurred two or four years earlier, or not at all; had he stuck to *The Last Man in Europe*, there would have been no occasion to commemorate.

Tens of millions have read it, in 62 languages: the story of Winston Smith, a minor bureaucrat in the totalitarian state of Oceania. War with the world's two other superpowers, Eurasia and Eastasia, is constant, although the pattern of hostilities and alliances keeps changing. Smith works at the Ministry of Truth, rewriting old newspaper stories to conform to current Party ideology. He uses the official language, Newspeak, a version of English being pared down to make unorthodox opinions impossible to conceive. Privacy has vanished. Waking and sleeping, Smith and all Party members are observed by two-way telescreens; posters everywhere proclaim BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU. Suddenly, Smith commits a thoughtcrime: "Down with Big Brother." He also begins a love affair with Julia, a co-worker at his office, another heinous offense. The Junior Anti-Sex League indoctrinates the virtue of celibacy; procreation will soon be carried on solely through artificial insemination ("artsem," in Newspeak). All personal loyalty belongs to the Party. Winston and Julia are caught by the Thought Police and hauled off to the Ministry of Love. He is relentlessly tortured, then taken to Room 101, where his worst fear has been readied by interrogators. As a cage bearing a rat is being pushed toward his face, he begs that this punishment be inflicted on Julia instead. This betrayal eliminates the last trace of his integrity. He has become a good Party Member.

For all its readers, for the countless millions who have heard of Big Brother and the estimated year of his arrival, this New Year's Day offers some unsettling moments: that glimpse of the new calendar, the first chance to write 1984 in a diary or on a letter or check. Orwell spelled his title out, a practice followed in the first editions: the book had a name, like *Utopia* or *Leviathan*, not a date. But the shorthand *1984* also gained wide currency. And those four neutral integers, fused so long in the public consciousness, have acquired the shimmering, brutal power of the hieroglyph.

What does it stand for? That question

"I was educated at Eton, the most costly and snobbish of the English public schools, but I only got in there by means of a scholarship."

Illustrations for TIME by Eugene Mihaesco

and the imminence of the Orwellian year have galvanized a small army of professors, critics and writers, journalists, pundits, social scientists, politicians and professional doomsters; hardly anyone paid for thinking out loud seems able to resist the temptation to play with Orwell's numbers. The game began in earnest last January and could, thanks to crowded conditions, easily extend into 1985. The action takes different forms: an apparently endless round of academic seminars and symposiums, coast to coast, from Manhattan College to Stanford; a swelling stream of magazine articles ("On the Brink of 1984") and books (*1984 Revisited: Totalitarianism in Our Century*); a CBS documentary last June anchored by Walter Cronkite, plus some six hours of TV programming to be shown in England.

A new 17-volume edition of Orwell's complete works will be published next year in the U.S. and England. A wax figure of the author is to be installed at Madame Tussaud's in London at the end of December. Science-fiction buffs discussed the father of Big Brother in Antwerp this fall. Futurists look forward to gathering for the same purpose in Washington next June, well after the separate Orwell festivities planned by the Smithsonian Institution and Library of Congress. By then, hearings scheduled by a House Judiciary subcommittee on "1984: Civil Liberties and the National Security State" will be completed.

Orwell experts jetting from one gala to another can keep track of the time through "The 1984 Calendar" ($10.95), the inspiration of two Michigan State graduates. Billed as "a day-by-day history of the increasing erosion of civil liberties in the U.S.," it measures 17 in. by 34 in. and features black-and-white photographs of U.S. Government buildings (the IRS, FBI, the Bureau of Indian Affairs) and of police riot squads and jail cells. Each date is annotated with one or more reminders, trivial as well as grim, of the loss of freedom; few may recall that on Aug. 1, 1973, the Washington *Post* reported a private investigation launched by the Nixon White House on the Smothers brothers. Can Doublethink T shirts and Big Brother barbecue aprons be far behind?

This snowballing imprecision has been in progress for almost a decade. Author Anthony Burgess recalls teaching in the U.S. at various times in the 1970s: "American college students have said, 'Like 1984, man,' when asked not to smoke pot in the classroom or advised gently to do a little reading." Now merely mentioning the date can convey muzzy criticism of whatever the speaker happens to dislike: advertising, computers, beeper phones, freeways and domed stadiums.

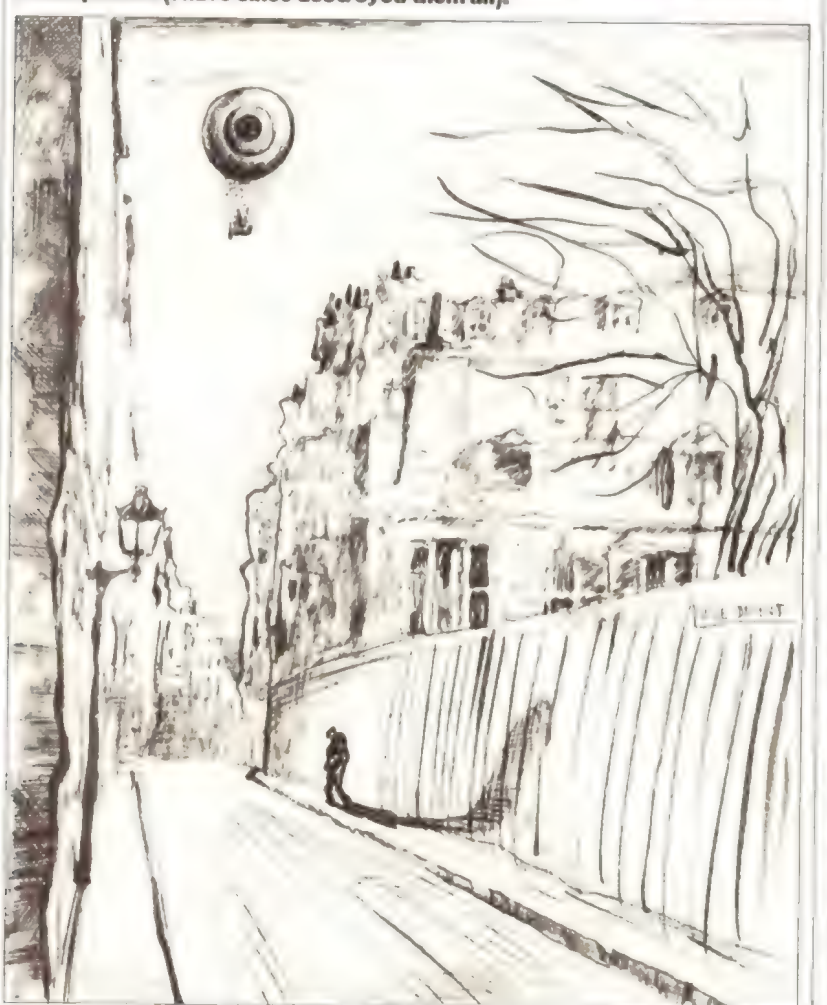
Such verbal knee jerks might be dismissed as harmless. But they never were by Orwell. "The sloveniness of our language," he wrote in 1946, "makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts." And it is a surpassing irony that the title Orwell made famous has become a symptom of the very sloppiness he deplored: what he called a "Meaningless Word," a ramshackle abstraction inviting everyone to come in and stop thinking for a while.

"Happy 1984." This concludes a New York *Times* editorial criticizing the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the "Orwellian arguments" for it given by the Reagan Administration. The implication is clumsy but clear: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and its author stand behind the *Times's* position. But a week or so earlier, the same newspaper's Op-Ed page ran a defense of the Grenada action by Neo-Conservative Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*. And Podhoretz had by then firmly claimed Orwell for *his* camp of disillusioned liberals: "I believe he [Orwell] would have been a neo-conservative if he were alive today."

The impulse to hold Orwell's coat while sending his ghost out to battle now seems pandemic. A writer in the liberal Roman Catholic journal *Commonweal* proclaims: "Orwell, if he were alive today, would make a worthy opponent for the multinational corporation. He could have made an idea and a book on 'organization man' stand up and sing." The conservative *National Review* concludes an essay on Orwell with cosmic theatrics: "The forces of darkness have huge armies, a bigger and better arsenal, liberation movements, and the whores' allegiance. The forces of light have Orwell on their side and draw strength from it." On the other side of the barricades, the rad-lib *Village Voice* waves a special issue devoted to Orwell and his year. One headline: CHRONICLES OF A DECENT MAN.

Before Orwell's name becomes as muddled and mythologized as *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the testimony of personal friends who would not have dreamed of predicting his views, on any subject, might be heeded. "I understood him up to a point," says Author V.S. Pritchett. "It was hard to define him because just when you had fixed on a view, he would contra-

"In 1928-9 I lived in Paris and wrote short stories and novels that no one would publish (I have since destroyed them all)."



dict it." Novelist Julian Symons remembers "a quality of perversity" in Orwell: "He had a characteristic directness which upset people and made him a lot of enemies." Malcolm Muggeridge recalls a man "who utterly despised intellectuals and people he used to refer to, scornfully, as wearing sandals. And yet he *was* an intellectual."

He was also many other things: an astute critic of literature and popular culture, a journalist who turned political writing into an art form, the finest English essayist of his century. Those who know of him only as a grand bogey, a synonym for some terror that may go bump in the Western night, hardly know him at all. He made it his business to tell the truth at a time when many contemporaries believed that history had ordained the lie. Yet the very name that is now so often invoked, vaguely and in vain, is a fiction.

Eric Arthur Blair was born in 1903 in India, where his father Richard worked as a civil servant for the British Empire. Not long afterward, Eric's mother took him and his older sister Marjorie back to England, a common domestic arrangement at the time; India was fine as a place for husbands to work, but children were to be brought up in the homeland. Richard Blair joined his family during his infrequent leaves. A younger sister Avril was born when Eric was five.

Orwell looked back harshly on the "shabby genteel" class inhabited by his parents and their friends: "Practically the whole family income goes in keeping up appearances." Unlike most who rebel from the worlds of their childhood, Eric became hypercritical of himself as well; his behavior during his early years, his adult memories of this period, both convey the peculiar sense that he considered himself not good enough for a style of life he disliked. The Blairs kept up appearances by enrolling their son, at reduced tuition, in St. Cyprian's, an institution that rigorously prepared boys for the great public schools. Eric, 8, was caned for bed wetting: the place encouraged him to feel unworthy. "I had no money, I was weak, I was ugly, I was unpopular, I had a chronic cough, I was cowardly, I smelt, I was an unattractive boy."

Jacintha Buddicom, now 82, who met and became friends with Eric Blair during his school vacations, disputes this self-portrait: "The business about how unpopular he was was a lot of nonsense, a fairy story." He fished and hunted, kept pet guinea pigs and roamed the Oxfordshire countryside. But Jacintha did not see him at St. Cyprian's. Critic Cyril Connolly, who was his classmate, would later remember that Eric "felt bitterly that he was taken on at reduced fees because he might win the school a scholarship; he saw this as a humiliation, but it was really a compliment." The prickly youth did, in fact, earn a scholarship to Eton, winning praise for himself and his school. Yet his account of leaving St. Cyprian's hardly reflects a sense of triumph: "Failure, failure, failure—failure behind me, failure ahead of me—that was by far the deepest conviction that I carried away."

"I wanted to submerge myself, to get right down among the oppressed, to be one of them."

He may not have felt like this at the time; an older man wrote these words in an essay, in a world drastically altered. But Eric's conduct at Eton did not resemble the courtship of success. He idled his way through 4½ years at the apex of English secondary education, growing tall (6 ft. 3 in.) and awkward in the process. He read widely in his favorite authors (Dickens, Thackeray, Kipling, H.G. Wells), contributed some poems to school publications and took part grudgingly in athletics. His father could not afford to send him to Oxford or Cambridge without a scholarship, and Eric's academic performance ensured that no scholarship would be offered.

The lack of university training left him at a dead end in England. The professions, even the higher reaches of the civil service, were closed. It also made Eric an outsider to his friends and classmates, those Etonians who were going on to do great things in government and the arts. So he chose the course his father had taken and left the country; he joined the Imperial Indian Police and was dispatched to keep order among the colonial subjects in Burma.

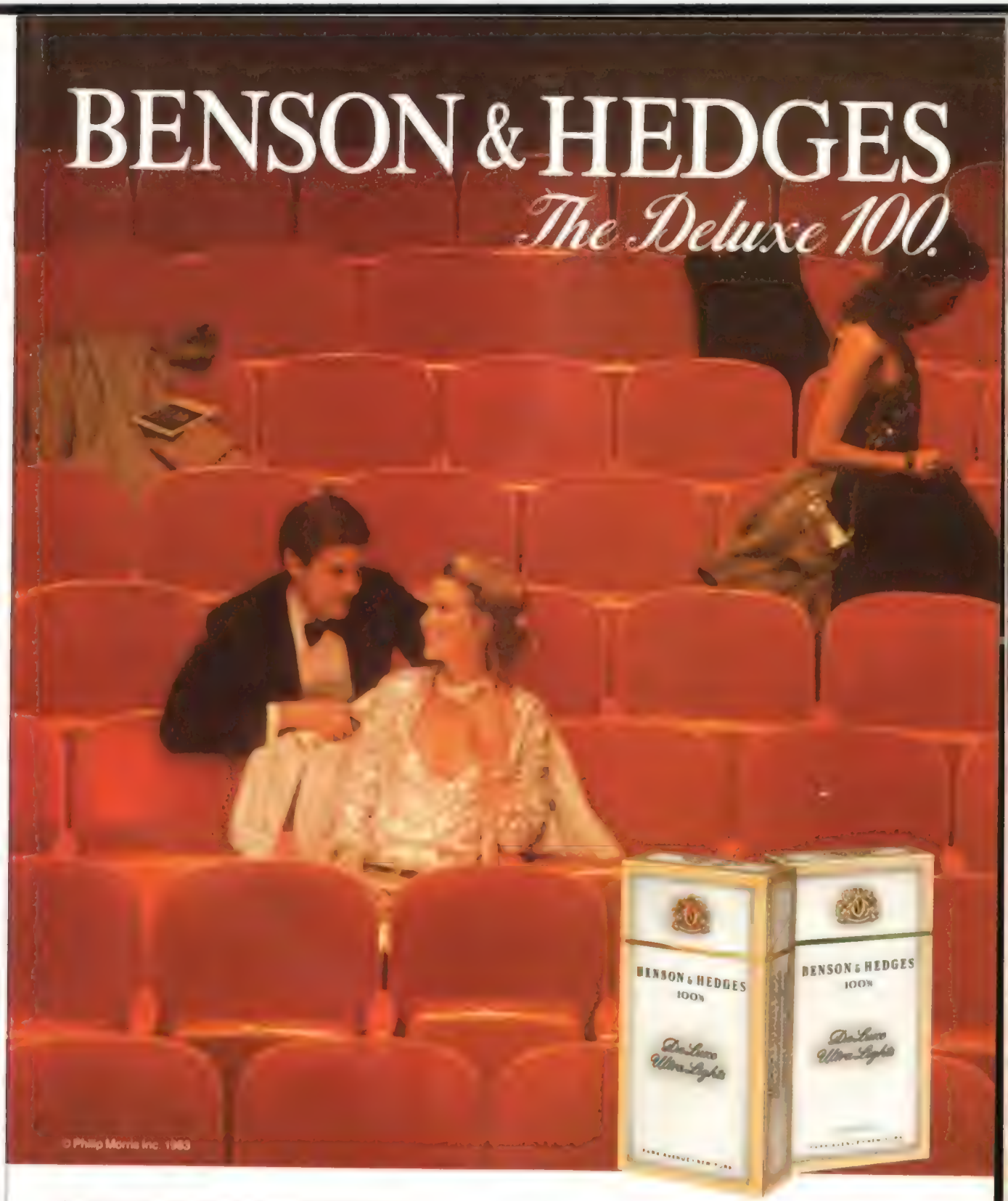
Two of his greatest essays were to be wrenched from the five years he spent there. *A Hanging* (1931) records both the execution of a Hindu man and the writer's revulsion at the event: "It is curious, but till that moment I had never realized what it means to destroy a healthy, conscious man. When I saw the prisoner step aside to avoid the puddle I saw the mystery, the unspeakable wrongness, of cutting a life short when it is in full tide." *Shooting an Elephant* (1936) portrays "the dirty work of Empire at close quarters." A rampaging elephant in Moulmein has killed a native, and the people expect the policeman to do something: "Here was I, the white man with his gun, standing in front of the unarmed native crowd—seemingly the leading actor of the piece; but in reality I was only an absurd puppet pushed to and fro by the will of those yellow faces behind. I perceived in this moment that when the white man turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys."

He returned to England after five years and resigned his commission. "He had changed," his friend Jacintha recalls. "He seemed more aloof, an unhappy sort of stranger. Whatever happened to him in Burma must have embittered him very much." Blair described the feeling he brought home as "an intolerable sense of guilt." He had been a petty tyrant in the service of what he saw as a vast system of exploitation. He could recognize in the flogged Burmese troublemakers a likeness to himself as a schoolboy, whipped and cowed by the same imperious forces. A childhood conviction had been confirmed: his place was with the oppressed.

Over the next ten years, he undertook the quixotic journey that would make him famous, under a new name and an altered identity. The first step was to tell his appalled parents that he wanted to be a writer; the next was to become one. That proved harder. He took a cheap room in London and spent hours each day at his typewriter, tapping out the kind of story that began "Inside the park, the crocuses were out . . ." At night, he began "tramping," haunting the slums, occasionally taking a bed in lodginghouses for the des-

BENSON & HEDGES

The Deluxe 100.



© Philip Morris Inc. 1983

6 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, by FTC method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Deluxe Ultra Lights

Only 6 mg, yet rich enough to be called deluxe.
Regular and Menthol.

CHRYSLER CREATES LASER XE. The sports ca

We gave Laser XE world-class performance. In the slalom, Laser beats all entries—from Trans Am to Mustang GT.

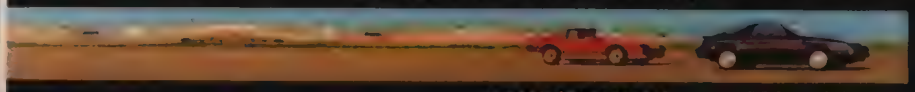
We built Laser XE to outperform the competition: Camaro Z28, Trans Am, Mustang GT, Toyota Supra, Mazda RX-7. Laser does it when you equip it with turbo, performance handling package and nitrogen-charged shocks.* Laser does it with front-wheel drive, new dual-path suspension system and quick-ratio power steering. In the slalom Laser finishes No. 1—even ahead of the legendary Porsche 944.

Laser beats Porsche in the slalom.

We turbocharged it. From 0-50 Laser XE leaves Camaro Z28 Trans Am in shadows.

Z28 is a powerhouse—but Laser XE is the sophisticated new wave. Its multi-point injection system "spritzes" fuel in at four points. Its water-cooled bearing reduces a critical turbo temperature by 500°F. Its turbo engine boosts h.p. 45% and moves Laser like light. With 5-speed you

Laser outperforms Trans Am in braking.



Laser is faster than Camaro Z28 from 0-50 mph.

time to 50 mph is 5.8 seconds. Z28, Trans Am, Toyota Supra and RX-7 are in your remote-controlled side-view mirrors.

We gave it high-performance braking. Laser XE stops where Trans Am doesn't.

We think total performance calls for p formance braking. So we gave Laser X semi-metallic brake pads, power brak all around and optional wide 15" alloy wheels with Goodyear Eagle GT radial tires. Result: Laser stops quicker than Z28, Trans Am.

that had to outperform the competition.
Mustang GT, Supra, RX-7. Even Porsche 944 can't beat our world class braking.
We even gave it a brain.
This is a car that thinks with you. Laser XE's 21 feature electronic monitor is like your sixth sense of the road. It even talks your language. And Laser XE's navigator computes 11 things you need to know while its color graphic displays help make you a calculating driver. But performing better isn't your only pleasure. Laser XE's AM/FM stereo remembers what you like to hear and plays it through six premium speakers you can choose. And its self-diagnostic system is the nearest thing to an on-board mechanic.
Even your performance seat performs.
It cushions you with pronounced padding and holds you in position on turns with lateral "wings." You pump up pneumatic cushions for thigh and lumbar support, and you can order a six-way power seat. And it's only fitting that you can choose world-class Mark Cross leather for your seats and cockpit.
We gave it our best: a 5 year/50,000 mile Protection Plan.
Chrysler believes a performer has to be more than a winner. It has to be a survivor. We build for that. And back your engine and power train with a 5 year/50,000 mile Protection Plan, with outer-body rust-through protection for the same period.** What competitor gives you that? None. See dealer for details. Buckle up for safety.
35 Est. Hwy.
22 EPA Est. MPG.
Chrysler
Laser. A product of The New Chrysler Technology.
CHRYSLER
LASER
THE COMPETITION IS GOOD. WE HAD TO BE BETTER.
Lee A. Iacocca

A tough act to follow.

Just like Northwestern Mutual Life's **Update '83!**
This year Northwestern Mutual policyowners are being offered an opportunity to increase their dividends. Some up to 40%, or more — without an increase in premiums. A revolutionary program to be sure, but for Northwestern Mutual Life it's just another reason why for over 125 years we've been a leader in low-cost long-term life insurance. A record that is the envy of the industry. And a record that has been maintained by constantly improving the products we offer you.

Of course, if you're a Northwestern Mutual policyowner, you already know about our special innovations and great life insurance values. For further information on the full line of Northwestern Mutual Life programs, call—

THE HOOPIS AGENCY
790 Frontage Road
Northfield, Illinois 60093
312/441-7850

Northwestern Mutual Life
The Quiet Company

A tough act to follow

These leaders of The Hoopis Agency who, along with their associates, are offering Update '83 and other Northwestern programs, are:

Ira E. Graham, CLU, Evanston; **Michael A. Hanlon,** Northfield; **John V. Tibensky,** Oak Brook; **Robert B. Morley, CLU,** Northfield; and **Leo T. Tibensky, CLU,** Oak Brook.

titute, hoping that his Etonian accent would not give him away: "What I profoundly wanted, at that time, was to find some way of getting out of the respectable world altogether."

Bohemianism did not attract him. He went to Paris in the late 1920s and found it "invaded by such a swarm of artists, writers, students, dilettanti, sight-seers, debauchees and plain idlers as the world has probably never seen. In some quarters of the town the so-called artists must actually have outnumbered the working population . . ." He took a job as a dishwasher in a Paris hotel, a member of the working population 13 hours a day.

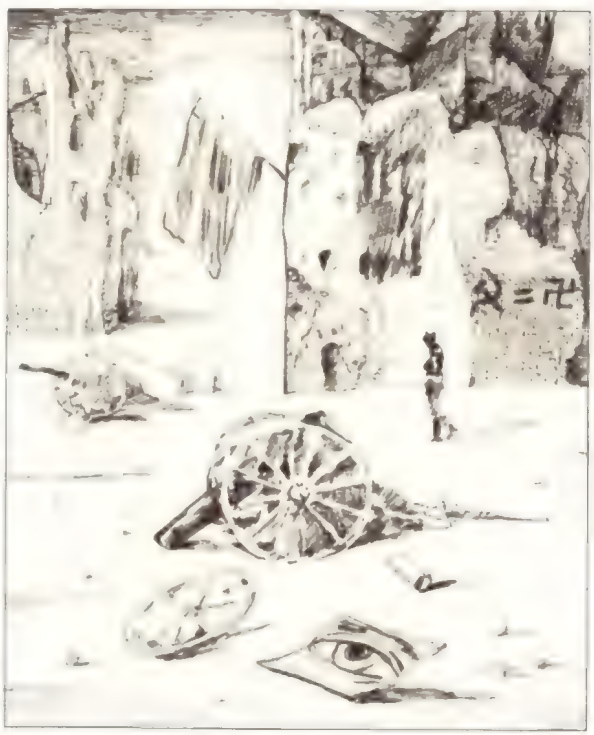
Urgently he kept struggling to become a novelist, but the sketches he wrote about his flophouse experiences became his first book. He knew that the seamy life depicted in *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933) would unnerve and embarrass his parents, so he told his agent that he did not want the book published under his own name: "As a pseudonym, a name I always use when tramping etc. is P.S. Burton, but if you don't think this sounds a probable kind of name, what about Kenneth Miles, George Orwell, H. Lewis Allways. I rather favor George Orwell." George, the patron saint of England, plus Orwell, a river that Eric Blair had known when young: the choice suggested the buried patriotism of a disaffected subject.

By this time the conviction that something was terribly wrong in his native land had begun to obsess him. Eric Blair had experienced injustice and poverty; George Orwell began to look for their causes. The change was not entirely voluntary. He wrote and published novels, and tried to pursue the kind of literary career that had been traditional in England since the 18th century. But the urge to stand witness to his times nagged him out of seclusion: "In a peaceful age I might have written ornate or merely descriptive books, and might have remained unaware of my political loyalties. As it is I have been forced into becoming a sort of pamphleteer."

A publisher asked him to go to the north of England and report on the plight of miners and factory workers unemployed in the drift of the Depression. Orwell spent two months early in 1936 among these people, not drunks and derelicts this time but victims of economic forces beyond their understanding or control. The first half of *The Road to Wigan Pier* recounts some of their stories. The second half tells Orwell's.

It is an astonishing document: a call for socialism to wipe out the inequalities of capitalism and class, coupled with a stinging indictment of contemporary Socialists: "One sometimes gets the impression that the mere words 'Socialism' and 'Communism' draw toward them with magnetic force every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex maniac, Quaker, 'Nature Cure' quack, pacifist and feminist in England." Orwell not only sensed the distaste that unemployed miners would feel for such studied eccentricities, he shared the feeling. He also perceived something that was to reverberate in political writings for half a century: ascendant leftist theories threatened to replace one form of tyranny with another. "The truth is that to many people calling themselves Socialists, revolution does not mean a movement of the masses with which they hope to associate themselves; it means a set of reforms which 'we,' the clever ones, are going to impose upon 'them,' the Lower Orders."

"I have the most evil memories of Spain, but I have very few bad memories of Spaniards."



He had scarcely written these words when he met their reality head-on. A few months after marrying Eileen O'Shaughnessy, 30, an Oxford graduate who was working for an advanced degree in psychology in London, Orwell went to Spain. The attempt by Generalissimo Francisco Franco to topple an elected left-wing government had led to civil war. Orwell could not pass up the chance to see "democracy standing up to Fascism at last." He arrived in Barcelona at the end of 1936 and found a city being run by the underdogs: "It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle."

Orwell was enchanted, "breathing the air of equality." A hotel manager scolded him for offering a tip to an elevator operator; barbers posted anarchist placards by their chairs announcing that they were no longer slaves. The signs of class he so detested in his own country had disappeared: "Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no 'well-dressed' people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working-class clothes, or blue overalls, or some variant of the militia uniform. There was much in it that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for."

He recounted his odyssey in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938). He joined a local militia unit and marched into trouble. Franco's troops fired at him, as expected; they were the enemy. But while recuperating from a bullet wound in the throat, Orwell learned that Communists in the Spanish government had outlawed the loose alliance of radicals he had joined in the struggle against Franco. The independent workers' stronghold in Barcelona was not, apparently, what Madrid or Moscow had in mind. Suddenly Orwell and his colleagues-at-arms were being called fascists, Franco's hired killers, by the Communist papers in Spain and Europe. Purges and reprisals began in Barcelona. Released from the hospital, Orwell was forced into hiding and then out of the country. His journey from exhilaration to exile took six months.

Spain left definitive marks on Orwell's character; all the political writing he did after escaping the civil war was sharpened by his keen sense of betrayal. He had seen the future, and it worked far too well; the world was being staked out by mirror-image tyrannies equally ruthless in stamping out the individual. The workers in Barcelona had been punished by the Communists for the crime of being unorthodox; they became, until suppressed, a more important enemy than Franco.

Back home in England, Orwell read accounts of the events in Spain and realized that he was being fed hogwash: "I saw great battles reported where there had been no fighting, and complete silence where hundreds of men had been killed. I saw troops who had fought bravely denounced as cowards and traitors, and others who had never seen a shot fired

hailed as the heroes of imaginary victories." This phenomenon frightened him, he wrote, "because it often gives me the feeling that the very concept of objective truth is fading out of the world."

Orwell devoted the rest of his life to arresting this process, against formidable odds. He took on not only Nazis and Stalinists and all advocates of the expedient lie but the solipsism of much modern philosophy and literature. Theories that reality is simply the spider web of word spinners left him aghast; that way lay the dictatorship of the speaker and, ultimately, the abstract, ominous slogans of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: WAR IS PEACE; FREEDOM IS SLAVERY; IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH.

The first and best defense against such totalitarian gibberish, Orwell argued, is common sense. A person with a basic understanding of what the words freedom and slavery actually mean must reject a sentence that equates them. He wrote: "In prose, the worst thing one can do with words is to surrender to them. When you think of a concrete object, you think wordlessly, and then, if you want to describe the thing you have been visualizing you probably hunt about till you find the exact words that seem to fit." The alternative method promises treachery: "When you think of something abstract you are more inclined to use words from the start, and unless you make a conscious effort to prevent it, the existing dialect will come rushing in and do the job for you, at the expense of blurring or even changing your meaning."

There was nothing donnish about Orwell's interest in language. He realized that the manipulation of speech could be every bit as deadly as the bearing of arms. He reminded all who would listen that Hitler had risen to power in Germany through persuasion; that Stalin had obscured massive crimes through the smokescreen of invective. He also warned, on the eve of World War II, that matters could deteriorate: "The terrifying thing about the modern dictatorships is that they are something entirely unprecedented. Their end cannot be foreseen. In the past every tyranny was sooner or later overthrown, or at least resisted, because of 'human nature,' which as a matter of course desired liberty. But we cannot be at all certain that 'human nature' is constant . . . The radio, press-censorship, standardized education and the secret police have altered everything. Mass-suggestion is a science of the last twenty years, and we do not yet know how successful it will be."

Still, Orwell never allowed this innate pessimism to overwhelm his talent or his energies. With Europe flaring into war, he took time from his political comments to write essays on Charles Dickens, Henry Miller and the literary and social merits of English boys' magazines. Oddly, these are the pieces that have aged the least. It is as if survival depended on the small things, like childhood pleasures, and not the large things, like war.

The Quotable Orwell

■ All writers are vain, selfish, and lazy, and at the very bottom of their motives there lies a mystery. Writing a book is a horrible, exhausting struggle, like a long bout of some painful illness. One would never undertake such a thing if one were not driven on by some demon whom one can neither resist nor understand. For all one knows that demon is simply the same instinct that makes a baby squall for attention. And yet it is also true that one can write nothing readable unless one constantly struggles to efface one's own personality. Good prose is like a windowpane.
From *Why I Write*, 1947

■ Left-wing literary criticism has not been wrong in insisting on the importance of subject-matter. It may not even have been wrong, considering the age we live in, in demanding that literature shall be first and foremost propaganda. Where it has been wrong is in making what are ostensibly literary judgements for political ends. To take a crude example, what Communist would dare to admit in public that Trotsky is a better writer than Stalin—as he is, of course? To say "X is a gifted writer, but he is a political enemy and I shall do my best to silence him" is harmless enough. Even if you end by silencing him with a tommy-gun you are not really sinning against the intellect. The deadly sin is to say "X is a political enemy: therefore he is a bad writer."
From *Literature and the Left*, 1943

■ Is it wicked to take a pleasure in spring, and other seasonal changes? To put it more precisely, is it politically reprehensible, while we are all groaning under the shackles of the capitalist system, to point out that life is frequently more worth living because of a blackbird's song, a yellow elm tree in October, or some other natural phenomenon which does not cost money and does not have what the editors of the left-wing newspapers call a class angle?
From *"I Write as I Please,"* 1946

COURTESY OF HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVICH, INC.

■ The Socialist who finds his children playing with soldiers is usually upset, but he is never able to think of a substitute for the tin soldiers; tin pacifists somehow won't do. Hitler, because in his own joyless mind he feels it with exceptional strength, knows that human beings *don't* only want comfort, safety, short working-hours, hygiene, birth-control and, in general, common sense; they also, at least intermittently, want struggle and self-sacrifice, not to mention drums, flags, and loyalty-parades.
From a review of *Mein Kampf*, 1940

■ Most of us still have a lingering belief that every choice, even every political choice, is between good and evil, and that if a thing is necessary it is also right. We should, I think, get rid of this belief, which belongs to the nursery. In politics one can never do more than decide which of two evils is the lesser, and there are some situations from which one can only escape by acting like a devil or a lunatic.
From *Writers and Leviathan*, 1948

■ Our own society is still, broadly speaking, liberal. To exercise your right of free speech you have to fight against economic pressure and against strong sections of public opinion, but not, as yet, against a secret police force. You can say or print almost anything so long as you are willing to do it in a hole-and-corner way. But what is sinister . . . is that the conscious enemies of liberty are those to whom liberty ought to mean most. The big public do not care about the matter one way or the other. They are not in favor of persecuting the heretic, and they will not exert themselves to defend him . . . The direct, conscious attack on intellectual decency comes from the intellectuals themselves.
From *The Prevention of Literature*, 1946

■ The gentleness, the hypocrisy, the thoughtlessness, the reverence for law, and the hatred of uniforms will remain, along with the suet puddings and the misty skies. It needs some very great disaster, such as prolonged subjugation by a foreign enemy, to destroy a national culture. The Stock Exchange will be pulled down, the horse plough will give way to the tractor, the country houses will be turned into children's holiday camps, the Eton and Harrow match will be forgotten, but England will still be England, an everlasting animal stretching into the future and the past, and, like all living things, having the power to change out of recognition and yet remain the same.
From *"The Lion and the Unicorn,"* 1941

Knock their socks off.
Canadian Club
"The Best In The House."
To send "The Best In The House" to their house, simply call 1-800-238-4373.
86.8 Proof. Blended Canadian Whisky. Imported in Bottle by Hiram Walker Importers Inc., Detroit, Mich. © 1983

During the war, Orwell and his wife lived in London. Cyril Connolly recalled: "He felt enormously at home in the Blitz, among the bombs, the bravery, the rubble, the shortages, the homeless, the signs of rising revolutionary temper." By then Orwell had become something of a celebrated eccentric, that gaunt Etonian who dressed like a working man (corduroy trousers, dark shirt, size-twelve boots), rolled his cigarettes from a pouch of acrid shag and poured his tea into a saucer before drinking it (there he goes, that Socialist who says such terrible things about Mr Stalin). Eric Blair had totally metamorphosed into George Orwell; the mask had become the man. Money was still scarce; his books had made him well known but not solvent. He turned out columns for *Tribune*, a weekly organ of the non-Communist British left, and did wartime broadcasts for the BBC's Eastern Service to India and Southeast Asia. He also wrote *Animal Farm*.

This slight fable, scarcely longer than a short story, was Orwell's favorite among his works; it led directly back to his first, heady days in Barcelona. The abused, overworked animals rebel against the rule of the exploiting farmer, Mr. Jones; but the workers' paradise is soon commandeered and betrayed by a pig who bears more than a fleeting resemblance to Joseph Stalin. His credo: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." *Animal Farm* was rejected by more than a dozen publishers in England and the U.S. The clear anti-Soviet parody bothered many of them. After all, the U.S.S.R. was an ally in the crusade against Hitler. But the publishers who finally accepted the book were amply rewarded; it has sold dependably for nearly 40 years.

Orwell's wife died in 1945, during surgery for uterine tumors. The widower was 41, tubercular, and left with an infant son, Richard, recently adopted. Loneliness, the responsibility of a child and the prospect of his own death drove him to propose marriage to a series of flabbergasted women. He wrote one, after two meetings, "You are young and healthy, and you deserve somebody better than me: on the other hand if you don't find such a person, and if you think of yourself as essentially a widow, then you might do worse—*i.e.*, supposing I am not actually disgusting to you." Unsurprisingly, she declined the offer.

The success of *Animal Farm* at last brought Orwell some financial relief; he could afford to cut back on his journalism and devote more time to his next novel. He took a house on Jura, a windy, remote island off the western coast of Scotland. There, growing more ill each day, he completed *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

He lived only seven months after its publication, long enough to realize that his book was becoming enormously successful and widely misunderstood. He attempted a note of clarification: "My recent novel is NOT intended as an attack on Socialism or on the British Labor Party (of which I am a supporter) but as a showup of the perversions to which a centralized economy is liable and which have already been partly realized in Communism and Fascism. I do not believe that the kind of society I describe necessarily *will* arrive, but I believe (allowing of course for the fact that the book is a satire) that something resembling it *could* arrive." Few listened, trusting the title and the tale, not the teller.

"I can work, but that is about all I can do. Even to walk half a mile upsets me."

Orwell did not view *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as his last will and testament, a Swiftian condemnation of humanity, as some, including Connolly, have claimed ("He was a dying man and he knew it"). Muggeridge remembers his last conversation with Orwell: "He said, 'I have some more books to write.' " Soon afterward, he married Sonia Brownell, a beautiful woman 15 years his junior, in his hospital room. T.O. Fyvel, another friend, recalls Orwell's saying, "When one is married, one has more reason to live." He died three months later, on Jan. 21, 1950.

Where did he stand, finally? He called himself "a man of the left," realizing that most of his allies shied away from or repudiated his maverick views. In fact, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* have long been embraced by the right as anti-revolutionary tracts. Yet such terms shift with time; what was left 20 years ago could be mainstream now and reactionary by 2001, or vice versa. Orwell's work has proved itself, with some exceptions, grounded on bedrock.

His four published novels before *Animal Farm* are readable but minor performances. His women characters are particularly stiff and lifeless. He was not an imposing political theorist; his strength lay in recognizing problems, not in propounding detailed solutions.

His greatest accomplishment was to remind people that they could think for themselves, at a time in this century when humanity seemed to prefer taking marching orders. He steadfastly valued ideals over ideology. He tried to strike a correct socialist attitude toward Dickens, and could not quite pull it off: "His whole 'message' is one that looks at first glance like an enormous platitude: If men would behave decently the world would be decent." But the sentiment, he concluded, "is not such a platitude as it sounds." Indeed, for all the pessimism attributed to him posthumously, Orwell had an abiding, almost pious faith in the ability of that fragile, querulous species, humankind, to correct its deficiencies by the most radical process of all: thinking. In *The Road to Wigan Pier* he expressed the belief that "economic injustice will stop the moment we want it to stop, and no sooner, and if we genuinely want it to stop the method adopted hardly matters." "Political chaos," he continued to stress, "is connected with the decay of language . . . one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end." To that end, Orwell devoted his life. His work endures, as lucid and vigorous as the day it was written. The proper way to remember George Orwell, finally, is not as a man of numbers—1984 will pass, not *Nineteen Eighty-Four*—but as a man of letters, who wanted to change the world by changing the word. A word that surely requires alteration today has been misused since the '50s. The author's name is not a synonym for totalitarianism. It is in fact the spirit that fights the worst tendencies in politics and society by using a fundamental sense of decency—Orwellian, in the best sense of the word. ***—By Paul Gray. Reported by Anne Hopkins/New York and John Saar/London***

Y'SHUA said, "I am the light of the world"

Y'shua? Yes, that's Jesus' Jewish name. He is very Jewish, you know. After all, where do you think he spent Hannukah, in Rome? No. He was in Jerusalem, at the temple, answering questions:

"How long will you keep us in suspense? If you are the Messiah tell us plainly."

Y'shua answered, "I did tell you, but you do not believe. The mirades I do in my Father's name speak for me."

You see, Y'shua claimed to be the promised Messiah, God's Savior from sin and Deliverer from darkness:

"Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life."

Most people would rather not hear about sin and darkness. But it's a problem that needs a dramatic solution. Y'shua is God's problem solver. He can bring peace, give us hearts to care for one another, relieve guilt, mend broken homes. He can brighten our lives more than any Hannukah menorah or Christmas tree.

If you want to know more about Y'shua, we're eager to tell you. What we have to say would take a book. God's book, the Holy Scriptures.

We'd like to offer you another book, called Y'shua, to help you understand what the Scriptures say about him. It's free, as a gift from Jews for Jesus and our friends who want you to be able to enjoy God.

Ask Y'shua to brighten your celebration. He offers you a joy-filled forever! So don't be bashful. We can't put big statements in magazines all the time. Respond now and let us reach out to you. Skeptics are welcome!

To get your free book, fill out this coupon.

I am **not** a believer in Y'shua (Jesus) and I want to read your book (**Y'shua** by Moishe Rosen)
I am ☐ Jewish ☐ Gentile.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

YB81

Please note: We cannot send this book free to Christians inasmuch as it's been purchased with donated funds. It is available in your religious bookstore now, or you can order it from us. Just send $2.95 and a note saying you are a Christian who read this (don't worry about the postage).

Mail to: Y'SHUA BOOK, c/o **Jews for Jesus**, 60 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA 94102

A Lusty, Lopsided Recovery

Executives and economists fear that huge deficits will slow growth

Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker calls the U.S. economic recovery, which reached its first birthday this month, "a lusty infant." Ronald Reagan proudly notes that output is "growing faster than even we expected." The rebound has rescued some 2 million Americans from unemployment and given millions more a new feeling of confidence. Families are buying more shirts and sofas, carpets and computers, autos and airline tickets now than they were in the bleak autumn of 1982. Factories are bustling again as companies hurriedly build up inventories to make sure they stay ahead of demand. The Federal Reserve Board reported last week that industrial production hit an all-time peak in October, up 14.8% from the recession's 1982 low point.

As sales have surged, so have profits. A *Wall Street Journal* survey of 506 major companies found that earnings were up 29% in the July-September quarter, compared with the same period a year ago. Some of the most dramatic improvements came in several industries hit hard by the recession. Profits jumped 44% in the forest-products business, 58% for rubber companies and 93% for airlines. The auto industry had the most stunning turnaround of all. After losing $187 million in 1982's third quarter, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler earned $1.2 billion in that period of 1983.

In the past, such rosy figures would have been cause for unbounded optimism. But not this year. Many economists and businessmen remain unusually subdued and concerned. Reason: the recovery is endangered by the federal budget deficit, which threatens to top $200 billion in each of the next few years. The deficit has been largely responsible for keeping real, or inflation-adjusted, interest rates at unprecedented heights. The difference between the prime rate that banks charge corporate customers (currently 11%) and the inflation level is now about 6 percentage points, or roughly twice as large as in previous recoveries.

As the economy gathers strength, the credit needs of private business could collide with the Government's heavy borrowing and push interest rates higher. Some economists fear that a serious slowdown in growth, or even a new recession, could come in 1985. Warns Henry Kaufman, widely respected chief economist for Salomon Brothers, the Wall Street investment firm: "The durability of this economic expansion is going to be significantly limited by the huge deficits in the federal budget." Industry leaders share that anxiety. Says John Smale, president of Procter & Gamble: "The size of the federal deficit is a national problem of substantial urgency that must be addressed with statesmanship, vigor and speed."

Despite the growing alarm, Congress rushed to adjourn last week without facing up to the budget dilemma. The consequences of such inaction could be severe. Even if the infant recovery survives, it may grow up deformed, with some parts of the economy performing far worse than others. Onerous interest rates could stall comebacks by the housing and auto industries. The high cost of borrowing money could depress capital spending and thus continue to devastate key business sectors such as steel, construction equipment and machine tools, which have barely begun to climb out of a deep slump.

Martin Feldstein, the President's chief economic adviser, fears a "lopsided recovery that would be slower paced and more fragile than a balanced recovery." Other Administration officials, however, have repeatedly brushed aside Feldstein's concerns. Says Treasury Secretary Donald Regan: "I wish economists would sit back and relax. [This will be] one of the greatest recoveries in history."

That may depend upon the actions of the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee, which met last week to set guidelines for the Government's monetary policy. So far this year, the Fed has tried to follow a narrow course that would promote the recovery and yet prevent a new burst of inflation. After the U.S. money supply grew at an alarming 12% annual rate in the spring, the Reserve Board tightened its policy. By October, the pace of money growth slowed to less than 2%, and the Fed's tough stance kept short-term interest rates at a steep 8.5% to 11% level.

The decisions made at last week's Open Market Committee meeting will not be made public for a month. But a summary just released of the Federal Reserve's October session reveals that the committee agreed on a "slightly lesser degree of restraint." Wall Street experts doubt, however, that the Fed will push down interest rates substantially. Says Stephen Roach, senior economist at the Morgan Stanley investment firm: "My feeling is that the Fed will maintain a wait-and-see attitude through the rest of the year."

The Reserve Board's cautious policy has kept mortgage rates hovering around 13.5% and stalled the housing recovery. The Commerce Department reported last

week that housing starts dipped 3.8% in October, after a 12.2% decline in September. The National Association of Home Builders expects starts to total 1.7 million units this year, a 58% increase over 1982, but it predicts no further growth in 1984. That would be a poor recovery by past standards. After the 1973-75 recession, housing starts rose for three years and peaked at more than 2 million.

A flat housing market would eventually crimp sales of building materials and home furnishings, from timber to toilets. The lumber industry is still shaking off the recession and is hardly prepared for a new shock. In the Northwest, the number of sawmills has declined by about 13% since 1979, and their work force has dropped by 20%, to 96,000. Says H.A. Roberts, executive vice president of the Western Wood Products Association: "We're more efficient these days, and sales volume is relatively good. But we're not nearly as healthy as in 1979."

The auto industry's resurgence is also vulnerable. Sales of U.S.-built cars in the first ten days of November were up 5.6% from a year ago. That increase, however, was less than the 18% gain recorded during the first ten months of 1983. The industry is still selling cars at a pace 35% below the peak rate in 1978. If interest rates begin to creep up, customers could start shunning the showrooms once again.

Even so, Detroit's turnaround has given hope to the struggling steel industry. Says Bernard Lashinsky, chief economist for Inland Steel: "The recovery is real. It is strong. But it is very lopsided." While shipments to the automakers have climbed, sluggish capital spending has held back sales of steel products to builders and machinery manufacturers. In the third quarter, 15 major steel companies lost a total of $527 million, not much less than the $603 million deficit they suffered in the same period of 1982. Though steel executives hope to move into the black next year, they remain cautious about the outlook. Says David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel: "The capital-goods sector is going to improve in 1984, but nobody is anticipating a major boom."

As long as steel companies remain depressed, so will their suppliers of raw materials, including some parts of the coal industry. In West Virginia, where many mines are dependent on steel's fortunes, employment in the coal business is down 41% since 1981. But one hopeful sign for the industry is that electric-power generation is currently up 3.8% over a year ago. Coal stockpiles at power plants have dwindled to a 78-day supply, down from 99 days' worth last year at the same time, and utilities will probably have to step up their purchases of fuel in 1984.

The machine-tool industry, which is totally dependent on capital spending, remains a disaster area. Orders for tools will total about $1.5 billion this year, barely 1% more than in 1982, and 73% less than the level of 1979. "Some companies will have their worst year since 1935," says Joseph Franklin, an economist with the National Machine Tool Builders' Association. Employment in the industry has dropped 36% since 1981.

Machine tools, steel and autos are among the many U.S. industries badly hurt by the historically high value of the dollar in international trade. High American interest rates have encouraged many foreigners to convert their money into dollars for investment in the U.S. That has sent the value of American currency to new peaks on exchange markets and made imports unusually cheap in the U.S. Foreign companies, led by the Japanese, have captured 27% of the American machine-tool market. Manufacturers in Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea have made new inroads into the American furniture business. "The trend is particularly frightening for dining- and living-room furniture," says G. Alex Bernhardt, president of Bernhardt Furniture in Lenoir, N.C., one of the oldest U.S. manufacturers. "I estimate that 20% to 25% of sales are imports."

The high value of the dollar has also made American goods exceptionally expensive overseas. U.S. exports are off 6% this year, after a 9% drop in 1982. While many export industries have started to improve, shipments of farm products and capital goods are still weak. Overseas sales of earthmoving equipment, for example, are down 35% this year. Sluggish exports combined with rising imports will drive the U.S. trade deficit to a record $60 billion for 1983, according to Sara Johnson, an economist with the Data Resources forecasting firm.

After a year of expansion, the U.S. economy has regained a surprising amount of momentum, but the progress has been spotty and fundamental difficulties remain. Says Philip Caldwell, chairman of Ford Motor: "The federal budget deficit and the trade deficit are basic problems threatening the country's long-run health and the standard of living for all Americans." Unless the President and Congress deal with those problems, they cannot be sure that the economic recovery will develop from its lusty infancy to a ripe old age. *—By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Jay Branegan/Washington and Raji Samghabadi/New York*

Burning bright: this Jones & Laughlin steel mill in Pittsburgh is now operating at 100% of capacity, up from 70% in recession-plagued 1982

White House Adviser Feldstein warns of a "fragile" rebound, but Treasury's Regan says, "I wish economists would sit back and relax."

T-Day on Wall Street

Brokers brace for a flood of trading in the new A T & T stocks

One of the axioms of geometry is that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts. Sometimes, though, the parts can add up to more than the whole. To the delight of Wall Street, that is what seemed to be happening last week with American Telephone & Telegraph.

As part of the breakup of the phone company, which will take place Jan. 1, A T & T last week filed 53,000 documents with the Securities and Exchange Commission. The papers projected 1984 sales, profits and dividends for the eight companies that will come into existence when the familiar Ma Bell is split up. The first quarterly dividend next year for all eight firms is expected to total $1.365 per current share of A T & T stock. That is 1½¢ more per share than the old A T & T has been paying for the past three years. Said Robert Allen, chief financial officer for A T & T: "The parts are more than the whole."

After the figures were announced, the price of A T & T stock rose by 1⅛, to 63⅛, on a one-day trading volume of 2.2 million shares, one of the heaviest ever for any single stock. It was a sizable movement for A T & T, which rarely goes up or down by so much in one trading session.

With 3.2 million shareholders, 2 million of them holding fewer than 100 shares, A T & T is the most widely owned stock in the world. But the mood concerning A T & T among both market experts and amateurs has been jittery. Said Robert Rubin, a partner and trader at Wall Street's Goldman Sachs: "Most institutions are just as confused as individual shareholders." Early last week, A T & T fell by more than a dollar in a single day on the basis of one analyst's speculation that the phone company's dividend might go down for the first time.

The documents filed with the SEC, which weighed half a ton, provided the first detailed look at how A T & T thinks the eight new companies will fare after the New Year's Day breakup. The most carefully studied report was a 267-page information statement and prospectus that will be sent to every A T & T shareholder during the next few weeks; printing and distributing that document alone cost $3.9 million. In the study, A T & T projected that its new slimmed-down company, which includes long-distance service, Western Electric and the Bell Laboratories, would show revenues of $56.5 billion for 1984, only about $11.1 billion behind the sales of the old, combined company. It anticipates more than $34 billion in long-distance revenues and at least $15 billion in sales of Western Electric's telephone equipment. The remaining $7.5 billion is expected to come from sales of such products as computers and office information systems.

A T & T expects that the seven holding companies will have combined revenues of $59.4 billion next year, down slightly from $61.4 billion during the past twelve months. But their financial outlook is more uncertain than that of the new A T & T. Hanging over the seven sisters is the fate of a charge that phone users are slated to pay to operating companies for access to long-distance lines. The Federal Communications Commission proposed the charge, which would start at $2 a month for a residential phone and $6 a month for a business one, but the House voted two weeks ago to kill it. The holding companies would lose $2.5 billion next year if the access charge does not start.

As soon as the documents were released, Wall Street analysts began grinding out opinions on the value of the various parts of the carved-up company and issuing stock recommendations. All of this was in preparation for trading in the eight firms, which is due to start this week on a when-issued basis. Under that procedure, investors can buy and sell shares now, although the stock will not actually be delivered until Feb. 24, after the new shares are issued.

There will be plenty of telephone stock to trade. Investors now holding A T & T stock will receive one share in each of the seven holding companies for every ten shares of A T & T they own. In addition, the ten old A T & T shares will become ten shares in the new A T & T. Stock in the eight firms will total 1.6 billion shares. Many investors are expected to shift their holdings among the eight companies.

Which stocks will investors buy and which will they sell? Some professionals are tilting toward selling the operating companies but are not buying the new A T & T. Yet Mark Luftig, Salomon Brothers' chief A T & T analyst, predicted a flow of institutional money into the new A T & T. Merrill Lynch, the largest U.S. broker, put out a range of buy and sell prices (*see table*).

Some analysts are telling customers to do nothing until spring, to wait until some of the chaos subsides. Says Kenneth Rolland, chief of Chemical Bank's trust department, who handles about $15 billion in investments: "There's already more selling pressure than there should be. In six months, when the dust has settled, the value could be higher. I have decided just to wait." But others lean toward a bit of fast trading, on the assumption that all the stocks will reach their highest prices during the next few weeks.

The New York Stock Exchange has been holding seminars for the past five months, trying to prepare for the anticipated rush of trading in telephone stock. Daily volume for the entire exchange is expected to increase from around 85 million to 100 million shares just on the basis of increased telephone trading. A T & T's ticker symbol is a simple T, and when trading in the new A T & T begins on Wall Street this week, T-day will be the longest day. —*By John S. DeMott. Reported by Frederick Ungeheuer/New York*

ONE BROKER'S ADVICE

Merrill Lynch's recommendations on the eight A T & T stocks

	BUY!	O.K. TO BUY	NEUTRAL	O.K. TO SELL
"NEW" AT&T	UNDER $14	14-19	20-27	OVER $27
NYNEX	UNDER $70	70-75	76-80	OVER $80
BELL ATLANTIC	UNDER $72	72-79	80-85	OVER $85
BELLSOUTH	UNDER $90	90-96	97-110	OVER $110
AMERITECH	UNDER $70	70-74	75-80	OVER $80
SOUTHWESTERN BELL	UNDER $66	66-72	73-78	OVER $78
US WEST	UNDER $63	63-67	68-73	OVER $73
PACIFIC TELESIS	UNDER $55	55-59	60-65	OVER $65

GIVE TIME FOR CHRISTMAS...

AND ANNOUNCE YOUR GIFT WITH THIS FREE POCKET DIARY AND PLANNER!

This year, why not wrap up your best wishes for the holidays with **TIME** Magazine? The newsmagazine that invented the newsmagazine. And the name that means news to more people in more places around the world than any other single source.

And right now, you can give a whole year's worth of **TIME**'s colorful coverage (52 weekly issues) at the low holiday gift rate of only $35. That's an $11 savings off the regular subscription price.

Along with your gift of **TIME**, your friends will also receive a bonus... the handsome 1984 Pocket Diary and Planner. This elegant Diary features a convenient appointment planner for the entire year... memo pages for important names, addresses and phone numbers... plus useful tables, charts, maps and conversion information.

We'll send you a Diary FREE for each gift of **TIME** you give... so you'll have something extra to wrap and send or put under the tree to announce your gift subscription.

To give **TIME** to friends, family, colleagues—anyone, in fact, who enjoys good reading and lively reporting—just fill in and return the accompanying card. Or, for faster service, call toll-free: 1-800-621-8200 (in Illinois: 1-800-972-8302).

You'll save with **TIME**'s once-a-year gift rate, and receive both a **TIME** gift card and a FREE Pocket Diary and Planner to announce your order before the holidays.

© 1983 R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Introducing CENTURY

Taste that delivers

IN THE MONEY SAVING 25 pack

Low Tar

Regular

Not available in all areas.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

av. per cigarette by FTC method

The slump did not stop Saudi Arabia's $3.5 billion airport from opening last week in Riyadh

A Very Special Recession

Falling revenues force Persian Gulf states to curb their spending

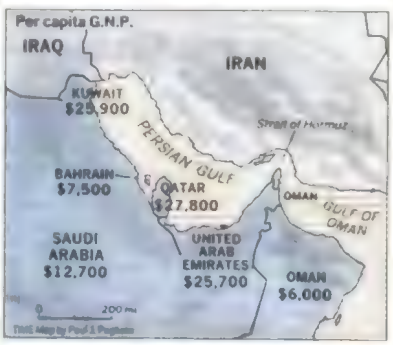
For most of the past decade, the money flowed like oil from the local gushers. All told, nearly $1 trillion poured into the sparsely populated, energy-rich Arab states along the Persian Gulf.* Now that stream has dwindled sharply. This year the region will take in only about $60 billion in oil revenues, down one-third from 1982 and only about one-half the level of two years ago.

Along with the fall in oil prices, the region's economy has been hit hard by the three-year-old war of attrition between Iran and Iraq. That conflict could expand and seriously curtail oil shipments. Moreover, the two combatants sharply reduced their imports of Western goods.

Last year's spectacular crash of the Souk al-Manakh, Kuwait's unofficial stock market, has also had a depressing effect. More than $90 billion in debts was outstanding when the wildly speculative market collapsed. While the Kuwaiti government has moved to bail out small investors, losses are still widely felt. "The debacle has cast a terrible shadow over business in the gulf," notes one foreign observer.

All these troubles have plunged the gulf states into a unique recession. On the one hand, budgeted government spending, which fuels the economies of the area, has followed the path of energy earnings and taken a tumble. In Saudi Arabia (pop. 9.7 million), the largest and most energy rich of the Arab gulf nations, officials have allocated $75.4 billion for the current fiscal year, down 17% from the previous period. But the region's wealth remains so great that such cutbacks have not yet caused much hardship. "The gold rush is over," says one U.S. diplomat stationed in the area. "But that doesn't mean that there's no gold out here. It just means that you can't pick up the nuggets on the street any more."

Indeed, a slump by gulf standards might look like prosperity to much of the rest of the world. Signs of the downturn's unusual nature are apparent everywhere. "Recession!" shouts the ad in the *Khaleej Times*, a daily newspaper in the United Arab Emirates port city of Dubai. "Gold watches at half the actual price!" That is unlikely to mean a steal, however, since the Girard Perregaux timepieces normally cost up to $6,000.



*The six members of the Gulf Co-operation Council: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman.

Nevertheless, the decline is having an impact. In Qatar (pop. 260,000), government ministries have been asked to trim their payrolls by an average of 20%. In the United Arab Emirates (pop. 790,000), officials are considering a reduction of as much as 22% in state employment. That would mean a loss of some 10,000 positions.

Such public belt tightening has led to a new eagerness on the part of applicants for work in the private sector. "I had six or seven young men in here recently who were willing to take the jobs and salaries we were offering," said one Western banker in Bahrain (pop. 330,000). "These were people fresh out of school who in the past would have been asking for and probably getting the sky."

Retailers too are noticing a change. "There is a slowdown in business, no doubt," says Ibrahim Al Touq, general manager of E.A. Juffali & Bros., a Saudi appliance dealer. "The main source of liquidity in our country is the government, and when it starts squeezing spending, the effect is immediately felt in the marketplace." The Saudis, for example, are buying fewer imported cars. "Frankly, I am delighted by that," says Saleh Toaimi, secretary-general of the chamber of commerce and industry in the Saudi capital of Riyadh. "Saudi families had too many cars, and I hope that the trend will continue to decline."

While the gulf slump has caused few formal bankruptcies, some firms have simply been closing their doors. Explains one foreign moneyman in Saudi Arabia: "Companies here tend to fade away. We are seeing some of that. Small concerns that operated with two desks, a phone and an Indian secretary are finding it hard to stay in business."

Ambitious development projects have also been affected. Although work continues on mammoth undertakings like Jubail, the $18 billion Saudi Arabian industrial city, other complexes still in the talking stage are being scaled back or dropped. The Saudis quietly slapped a freeze on most new construction, causing the country's index of new contracts to slide 56% between December 1982 and last July. Notes a foreign banker: "They could have tried riding the crisis out by slowly adjusting without a sharp drop in spending. But they bit the bullet in a disciplined way that you have to admire."

The falling oil income has led some normally prompt-paying gulf nations to start acting like cash-strapped debtors. Earlier this year, the Saudis resorted to slowing down payment of bills, sometimes holding up checks for months. In Qatar, officials have been asking contractors to accept oil rather than cash in exchange for their services.

Despite the cutbacks, work already under way in the gulf could persuade a visitor that a boom rather than a bust was

FACTS.

NOT FLUFF.

The breakup of the Bell System is the biggest business news story of the year. And right now, you're probably suffering from information overload.

You're seeing ads. You're hearing claims. You're trying to make choices amidst the clutter.

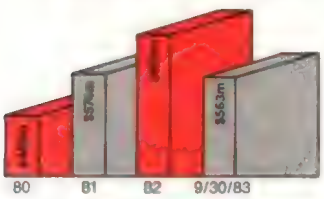
At Pacific Telesis Group, we think the remedy for overload and clutter is facts.

Hard facts. Not fluff.

So when you hear us talk, it will be in words investors understand. Like profits. Growth. Security. Diversification. Markets. Technology.

Take profits, for instance.

In the last three years, we've managed a remarkable financial turnaround.



Our net income has gone from $483 million in 1980 to $631 million in 1982. The increase from '81 to '82 alone was 10 percent—at a time when the profits of many American companies were relatively flat.

And the results for the first nine months of 1983 look even better. Net income grew by 15 percent over the same period in 1982.

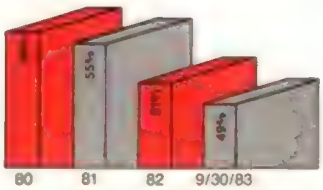
How about productivity?

A key measure of efficiency in our business is the number of telephone lines (we call them "access" lines) per employee.

Here, too, the trend is positive.

In 1980, we had 90 access lines for every employee. Since then, the figure has risen steadily. By the end of 1982, it stood at 100. And as of September 30, 1983, it had reached 109.

Another important financial indicator is debt ratio—the percentage of a company's capital structure that represents debt. Here, you see a steady positive trend.



In 1980, our debt ratio was 58 percent. By the end of '81, it stood at 55 percent. And at year-end 1982, it had dropped to 51 percent.

And by the end of the first nine months of 1983, it had fallen to less than 49 percent. By the time Pacific Telesis Group is divested from AT&T, the figure will be below 47 percent.

The result: Since 1980, our debt ratio will have dropped by eleven percentage points—an almost unheard of three-year improvement for a company of our size.

Another significant financial indicator is the percentage of a company's capital that's generated internally—that doesn't have to be borrowed from outside sources. Here, too, our results are remarkable.

In 1980 we generated 44 percent of our funds internally. By year-end 1982, that figure had climbed to 81 percent. And the result for the first nine months of 1983 stands at 95 percent.

To us, the bottom line is this: The Pacific Telesis Group of the eighties isn't the Pacific Telephone of the seventies.

We've turned this company around, and we're moving up fast.

If you'd like more information about Pacific Telesis Group, please write Michael McGreevy, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94105.

PACIFIC TELESIS

Group

in progress. Riyadh remains noisy with the pounding of jackhammers and the rumble of trucks and earthmoving equipment. "Most of the projects that were planned and contracted," says Saudi Assistant Deputy Planning Minister Hussein Sajeeni, "have not been affected by the cuts in revenue." Concurs a gulf banker: "The full impact of the reductions will not be seen for some years. The pipeline is very full and very busy."

The heavy use of workers from abroad also cushions the region against the slump. At least half the Saudi labor force consists of foreigners. In some gulf nations, such "guest workers" can outnumber the local ones. "We are lucky in some ways," says one oil-state minister. "When times get tough, we export our unemployment." In Dubai, three times as many Pakistanis have registered to return home this year as in 1982.

Even those gulf citizens who have lost their jobs can enjoy a level of well-being that their U.S. counterparts would envy. Medical bills throughout the region are typically paid by the government. Education is free as well. Those short of cash have little fear of losing their homes, since the public institutions that hold mortgages will wait for payment and do not charge interest.

The recession, moreover, has done little to halt the flow of many foreign goods into the gulf. Saudi Arabia imported $10.46 billion worth of such products as industrial machinery and farm goods during the second quarter of 1983, a 5% increase over the first quarter. In the United Arab Emirates, imports were 2% higher in the first half of this year than in the same period a year ago. Result: after years of accumulating huge surpluses, some energy-producing states are now sinking into the red. Saudi Arabia is expected to spend some $26 billion more than it takes in from abroad this year; in 1982 the Saudis had a surplus of some $2 billion.

To bridge trade gaps, the Saudis and their neighbors have been drawing down their Western bank accounts. Federal Reserve Board statistics show that Middle East oil exporters have about $11.7 billion in U.S. deposits, down some 25% from last December.

Several experts argue that the frantic pace of gulf development would have slowed even without the current recession. "We were saturated with buildings and offices," says Riyadh's Toaimi. Adds a banker whose firm has helped finance Saudi projects: "Construction will never see a boom like the one we had here in the ten years since 1973." That, in the view of many Arabs, is probably for the best. "We did not have time to think about what we were doing," concedes Yousef Shirawi, Bahrain's Minister of Development and Industry: "Perhaps this pause will be very good for us." —*By John Greenwald. Reported by Barry Hillenbrand/Bahrain*

Extra Credit

Scholars help rescue a factory

"He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches." So goes the infamous putdown of academics. Well, some professors at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa really can. The scholars and their students have come to the rescue of a local General Motors carburetor assembly plant where 200 workers were about to lose their jobs. The automotive giant, frustrated with operating deficits at its Rochester Products Division factory, had planned to close it down. But the academics came up with a number of cost-cutting ideas that helped stem the plant's losses, and now Rochester Products is being hailed by GM as an example of the factory of the future.

A U.A.W. official, center, explains GM carburetors to University of Alabama students

Said one professor: "We couldn't stay locked in an ivory tower at a time like this."

The scholars relished the chance to put on coveralls and try out some of their ideas on the assembly line. Says Marketing Professor J. Barry Mason, chairman of the university's task force: "We couldn't stay locked in an ivory tower at a time like this." The workers, for their part, welcomed the helpful meddling. GM had bought the former textile mill in 1977, at the height of the new-car boom. But sales began a four-year slump in 1979, and in August 1982 GM announced it would close the factory unless local managers and workers could eliminate $2 million a year in losses. Tuscaloosa employees suggested 100 ways to cut costs, yet the total savings fell $500,000 short of what was needed.

At that point, members of the local Chamber of Commerce and two industrial development groups, who usually spend their time trying to attract new industries, realized they were about to lose an established one. They donated $75,000 and persuaded the university's business and engineering schools to turn the factory into a living laboratory. The university agreed in January, promising to pay for the cost of using the factory by finding $500,000 in annual savings or making up the difference in cash.

A law professor who was an expert on interstate shipping studied the factory's trucking contracts. He found them overpriced and suggested putting them out for new bids. Savings: $90,000. Engineering professors, inspired by a campus air-conditioning system that uses 60° F underground water, designed one to save electricity for the factory. Savings: $75,000. In total, the university found $470,000 in cost reductions and possibly an additional $175,000. Assembly-line workers cheered last month when the top brass from GM and the United Auto Workers arrived from Detroit and announced that the plant would be kept open for at least three more years as a continuing experiment.

Alabama's students, who had previously had little access to on-the-job training, now have a site for class projects. Says Ron Watson, a graduate student in mechanical engineering: "It's the unromantic end of the business, but it's good for me. When I do my project, it won't just be a pie in the sky, it will be real."

The challenge has brought friendlier ties between GM and U.A.W. Local 2083. Part of the deal for saving the plant called for concessions from the union, including one in which workers gave back $55 a week from their paychecks, which average $330 weekly. Says Alabama's Mason: "Large numbers of businesses have closed because people could not talk together in this way. There are an enthusiasm and a joy here now." Especially so because the project's success means that workers will be getting their money back, in the form of $1,600 checks, just in time for the holidays. ■

RED STANDS OUT. WHEN MAKING THE ROUNDS.

ITS DISTINCT PREMIUM TASTE MAKES IT THE WORLD'S BEST SELLING SCOTCH

JOHNNIE WALKER RED®

Send a gift of Johnnie Walker Red anywhere in the U.S.A. Call 1-800-526-6148
Void where prohibited

Step ahead of your time to Panasonic.
Until now, a video system this advanced could never be this portable.
Until now, a portable video system couldn't be this small and light and have the features of a sophisticated home video system. Introducing the Panasonic Omnivision® VHS™ recorder-tuner/timer (PV-6600) and stereo sound/color camera (PK-957).
Outdoors, no portable recorder and camera can record your family more automatically. In a split second, the camera focuses and sets exposure. It even works in low light. Only 4 birthday candles.
Indoors, the recorder with its remote-controlled tuner/timer becomes a sophisticated home system. Quartz-locked synthesized tuning can give you instant access up to 128 channels. It can record 8 hours of TV on one tape. The Tech-4 video head system gives you a jitter-free picture in slow motion and stop motion. And it even plays stereo tapes in full Dolby* stereo when connected to your hi-fi.
Panasonic Omnivision. It will change the way you picture the world.
WARNING: One Federal Court has held that recording copyrighted TV programs is infringement. Such programs should not be recorded.
*Trademark of Dolby Laboratories Inc.
Panasonic
just slightly ahead of our time

Swallowed Up

Dr Pepper finds a buyer

Although it has long had a loyal following among soft-drink guzzlers, 98-year-old Dr Pepper (1982 sales: $516.1 million) has gradually been losing its fizz. The company's namesake Dr Pepper brand fell from 5.4% of the soft-drink market in 1981 to 5.1% last year. Moreover, the Dallas-based firm knew things might continue getting worse because it lacks the financial and marketing clout to compete effectively against the soft-drink industry's giants: Coca-Cola (1982 sales: $6.2 billion) and highly diversified PepsiCo (1982 sales: $7.5 billion). So, taking a hint from one of its old commercials, Dr Pepper has been looking for a friendly pepper-upper. Last week the company found one. Dr Pepper agreed to be acquired for $512.5 million by Forstmann Little & Co., a closely held New York investment firm.

The deal was the second major purchase in two days for Forstmann Little, which was formed in 1978 by Wall Streeter Wm. Brian Little, now 41, and the brothers Forstmann: Theodore J., 43, and Nicholas C., 36. The day before, the firm had agreed to buy Topps Chewing Gum (fiscal 1983 sales: $69.7 million), makers of the famous baseball cards, for some $95 million. Last January Forstmann Little paid about $100 million for Beverage Management of Columbus, a bottler of Seven-Up and Royal Crown Cola. Said Emanuel Goldman, a leading beverage analyst with San Francisco–based Montgomery Securities: "They truly have a full-scale commitment to the U.S. soft-drink industry."

Some observers doubted, however, that Forstmann Little would have much impact on Dr Pepper. Says Hugh Zurkuhlen of Wall Street's Salomon Brothers: "It's unlikely that Forstmann Little is going to make a big national push with Dr Pepper." Brian Little said the beverage company's officers, including Chairman W.W. Clements, 69, will remain on the job following the acquisition. "We are owners only," Little noted. "We don't get involved in management."

The biggest gainers in the deal will be Dr Pepper shareholders and Lazard Frères, the Wall Street investment banking house. Stockholders will receive $22 each for shares that were worth about $15 only two weeks ago. Lazard Frères, which put the deal together, will walk away with $2.5 million for services rendered. ■

Dividends

Dropping the Last 'Lude

The drug produces a kind of mellow euphoria. Introduced in 1965 as a prescription sleeping pill, it was designed to provide a "quiet interlude," hence the name: Quaalude. But the sedative, whose generic name is methaqualone, became a notoriously abused drug. In a dubious tribute, one rock star even had a character in his act named Quay Lewd.

Last week the only legal manufacturer of 'ludes in the U.S., the Lemmon Co. of Sellersville, Pa., announced it was halting production. Lemmon said Quaalude's reputation was hurting the whole firm.

Rampant misuse and counterfeiting has prompted officials to clamp down on Quaalude. Nine states have banned its sale, and the Drug Enforcement Administration has required Lemmon to cut production from 58 million tablets in 1978 to 7.5 million this year. The Government has also gone after counterfeit Quaalude, which is smuggled into the U.S. in amounts estimated at up to a billion tablets a year. As a result of last week's announcement, the street-corner price of 'ludes doubled to as much as $10 a tablet, in contrast with about 70¢ in a drugstore.

Dutch Treat

Slogans and placards are the standard equipment for labor protests, but last week some angry Dutch fire fighters got a little more creative. To protest a government proposal for a 3% cut in civil servants' wages, as well as in benefits for the unemployed, aged and sick, 350 off-duty members of the Amsterdam fire brigade journeyed 40 miles to The Hague, where they filled the Binnenhof, Holland's parliamentary complex, with synthetic fire-fighting foam. From the windows above, the ancient square looked as if a severe storm had buried it in 14 feet of snow.

The ersatz early-morning blizzard hid all the main entrances to the parliamentary and government buildings. When legislators showed up for work, most were not amused. Neither was The Hague's police department, which ordered the local fire brigade to clean up the mess. Within hours, after The Hague's firemen had attacked the foamy mountains with water hoses, the square was again clear. Other wildcat job actions and work slowdowns to protest the pay cuts continued, including a week-old nationwide mail strike that has left post offices with tons of undelivered letters piled almost as high as the foam in the Binnenhof.

A wintry display of discontent in The Hague

A Bitter Cup of Tea

A woman in Mississippi nursing a broken hip last month decided to brew herself a particularly strong cup of Celestial Seasonings' comfrey tea. After putting enough tea in one cupful to make about 18 servings, she complained of nausea and blurry vision. Though the woman quickly recovered, the incident has caused a painful hangover for the teamaker. It prompted Celestial Seasonings to postpone a $12 million stock offering, and the company recalled some 6,000 cases of the tea.

Researchers speculate the woman's reaction was caused by a natural toxin called atropine. Harmless traces of the substance had gotten into some packages of the tea in a still unknown way. At first Celestial's founder and chairman, Mo Siegel, 34, talked vaguely of "supply problems," but last week he gave a detailed explanation of the incident. Said one investment banker: "A lot of people would not have said anything. His decision was very ethical."

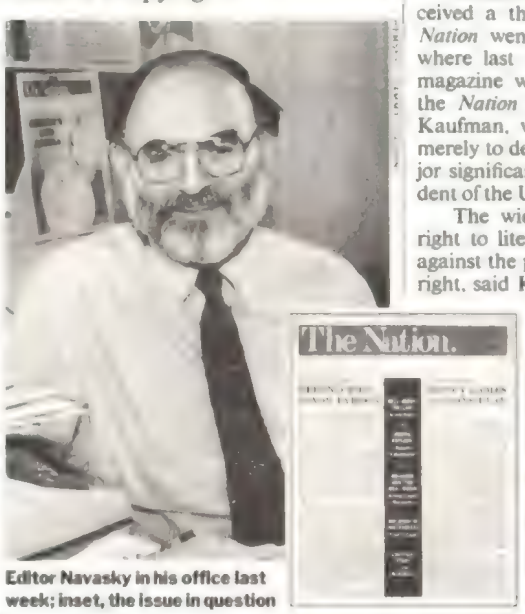
The accident was a heavy blow for Boulder-based Celestial, the largest U.S. maker of herb teas. Said Siegel: "It's been the worst week of my life." Nonetheless, the tempest-in-a-tea-stock is expected to blow over. The comfrey flavor represents a minute share of the Colorado company's total sales, which in fiscal 1983 increased by 26% to $27 million. The public offering will be rescheduled for early next year, when it is likely to bring Siegel a celestial cash windfall of more than $1 million.

When Personal Memoirs Are News

Press freedom outweighs an ex-President's copyright

Memoirs of major public officials are big business. Presidents and prominent members of their Cabinets can often make more money writing about their time in office than they earned in salary while serving. Publishers are eager for such books, in part because they can make extra profits and garner valuable publicity with the sale of first serial rights to magazines. But as authors, what do the newsmakers own and when do they own it?

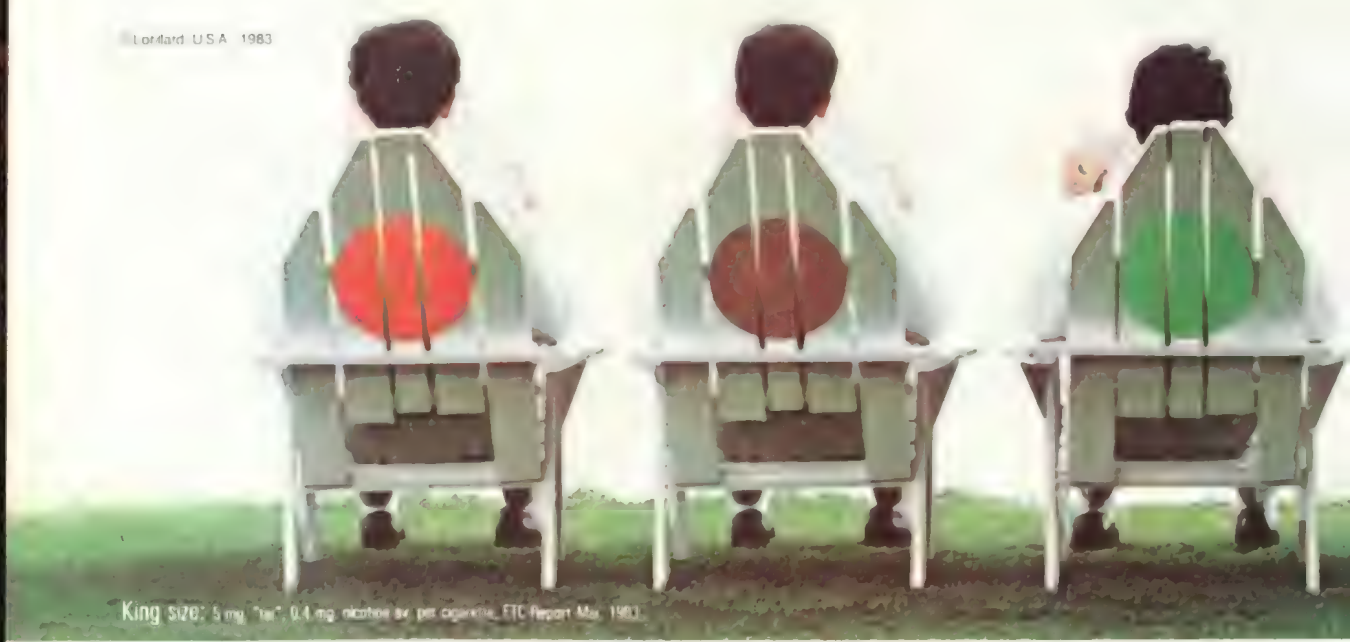
In May 1979, Harper & Row and the Reader's Digest Association were set to publish *A Time to Heal*, an account by Gerald Ford of his life and presidency. Shortly before the book was due out, the *Nation* (circ. 48,000), a leftist weekly, summarized Ford's account of his pardon of Richard Nixon, using a stolen copy of the book without Ford's permission. A U.S. district court ruled that the *Nation* had taken the former President's work in violation of the federal copyright laws, and directed the magazine to pay the publishers damages of $12,500; the sum represented the fee that the publishers lost when TIME, which had purchased first magazine publication rights, withdrew under a contractual provision after the *Nation* article appeared.



Editor Navasky in his office last week; inset, the issue in question

Backed by volunteer lawyers who perceived a threat to free-press rights, the *Nation* went to a federal appeals court, where last week, in a 2-to-1 ruling, the magazine won a ringing reversal. What the *Nation* had done, said Judge Irving Kaufman, writing for the majority, was merely to describe "political events of major significance, involving a former President of the United States."

The widely followed case pitted the right to literary ownership, or copyright, against the principle of a free press. Copyright, said Kaufman, covers not "ideas or facts," but the author's "expression." In the case of highly newsworthy books, this means only "the ordering and choice of the words themselves." Otherwise, he went on, "an individual could be the owner of an important political event merely by being the first to depict that event in words." Copyright law "was not meant to obstruct the citizens' access to vital facts and historical



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

observations about our nation's life."

Kaufman noted that Editor Victor Navasky of the *Nation* had paraphrased most of what Ford wrote. Only 300 words of the 2,250-word article were taken verbatim from the manuscript. This brief borrowing of copyrighted material without the author's consent, said the court, was "fair use," a concept that allows limited quotation by journalists, critics, teachers and researchers. Dissenting Judge Thomas Meskill found a problem in the straightforward nature of the paraphrasing, however. "Copyright laws protect originality," he wrote. "They thus offer protection against a work that is substantially an unoriginal appropriation of the copyrighted work."

A jubilant Navasky hailed the ruling as "a victory for the public." But some legal experts contend that the decision's scope might not be as broad as Kaufman's resounding language suggests. The reigning scholar of copyright law, Melville Nimmer of U.C.L.A. law school, said the "essential element" in the case is that "the underlying material is factual." Paraphrasing of fictional material would still violate copyright laws. Columbia Law Professor Benno Schmidt also did not quarrel with the decision but added, "The appropriate principles of copyright protection got bent out of shape by the tremendous newsworthiness of the Ford disclosures."

At week's end the publishers had not decided, but were leaning toward seeking further review. Edward Miller, general counsel for Harper & Row, insisted that an important issue is at stake. Said he: "Copyright is the basis of the business we're in, and first serial rights are an important source of income for us." Whatever the final outcome of the case, publishers are considering new tactics to avoid such battles. Some warn that galleys of major books will be offered to fewer bidders with more stringent security restrictions. Others, like Roger Straus, president of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, think the ruling "will force earlier first publication," sacrificing the advantages of later publicity so that reporters will not have time to get unauthorized copies. ■

No to the Feds

A win for Baby Jane's parents

Despite its strong objections to overbearing Big Government, the Reagan Administration has been trying to intervene in the painful private dilemma of a Long Island, N.Y., couple with an incurably ailing child. Last week Federal District Judge Leonard Wexler, a recent Reagan appointee, threw out the U.S. Justice Department's unprecedented suit seeking the hospital records of the infant known as Baby Jane Doe.

Baby Jane was born six weeks ago with a protruding spinal cord and a host of other congenital defects; doctors believe she will be almost totally disabled and severely retarded for as long as she lives. After agonized consultations with medical experts and religious counselors, her parents decided not to authorize major surgery that might prolong Baby Jane's life. A right-to-life activist lawyer sought to force the surgery, but two New York appeals courts and a state children's agency declined to override the parents. Justice then sued to obtain the records from University Hospital in Stony Brook, N.Y., to determine whether it had violated a federal law that forbids discrimination against the handicapped.

Wexler found "no discrimination," only a great deal of caring. The hospital has always been willing to do the surgery, he pointed out, and failed to do so "not because Baby Jane Doe is handicapped but because her parents have refused to consent to such procedures." Wexler concluded that the parents' decision was a "reasonable" one based on a "genuine concern for the best interests of the child."

Mr. and Mrs. A., as they are designated in court documents, continue to visit Baby Jane in the hospital, where they feed and try to comfort her. Despite Wexler's ruling, said her father, "I don't feel any big celebration is in order yet." Indeed the Government later announced an appeal. "We've been in nearly every court but the U.S. Supreme Court," said Paul Gianelli, lawyer for the parents. "And we've won, but . . ." ■

You found it. True.

Exceptional taste in an ultra low tar.

Try True and you'll discover the taste worth switching to.

Cardiology City, U.S.S.R.

Investing in research to combat an epidemic

It sprawls across a vast expanse on the northwestern outskirts of Moscow, a semicircular complex of 23 interconnected buildings whose cream-colored façades shine brightly in the late-fall sunshine. The sparkle is only fitting, because this is the crown jewel of Soviet academic medicine: the new headquarters of the eight-year-old U.S.S.R. Cardiology Research Center. American specialists got their first view of the buildings' endless white corridors and advanced diagnostic equipment last year, shortly after the new medical complex opened, when the Soviet Union played host to more than 5,000 physicians from around the globe, who were attending the Ninth World Congress of Cardiology. Says one impressed visitor, Harvard Heart Specialist Bernard Lown: "It is a cardiology city." With pardonable pride, the center's director, Yevgeni Chazov, declares, "I don't think there's another institute in the world that has as many functions."

Why would the Soviet Union want to spend 78 million rubles (about $117 million) on a single cardiology complex? Answer: a Soviet epidemic of heart disease. As in the U.S., cardiovascular diseases are the U.S.S.R.'s No. 1 killer. In America over the past decade the death rate from strokes has fallen by 37% and from heart attacks it has dropped by 25%, largely owing, many cardiologists believe, to an aggressive program for the treatment of hypertension. By contrast, the Soviet death rate from heart-related diseases more than doubled between 1960 and 1980. Among the causes, according to U.S. researchers: rampant alcoholism, smoking, and the stress resulting from crowded urban living conditions.

The focus of the center's research is understanding the development of arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries), a condition that can lead to strokes and heart attacks. Director Chazov and his team of scientists have developed several compounds to dissolve potentially fatal blood clots. One such compound is a more effective version of streptokinase, a drug increasingly used in the West to dissolve blood clots.

Using computer linkups with more than 1,000 statisticians in 20 cities, the center also is exploring possible risk factors in arteriosclerosis among Soviet citizens. Chazov's prediction about the outcome of the work by Soviet scientists and researchers worldwide: "We will solve the problem of arteriosclerosis in the next ten years. Once that is done, we will be able to prevent heart attacks and strokes almost entirely and raise the life span of human beings to 80 to 85 years."

American researchers who have been involved in a Soviet-U.S. medical exchange program that has been going on since 1972 generally give the Moscow institute and its researchers high marks. Others have some reservations. George Washington University Internist William Knaus, author of *Inside Russian Medicine*, says of the center, "Individual projects might be comparable, but overall it would not compare with Stanford, the University of Texas, Harvard or the Mayo Clinic."

Even so, the huge Soviet center is impressive. It runs a busy outpatient service for citizens with heart-related ailments, trains doctors and scientists, and coordinates the cardiological research and treatment efforts of hundreds of regional institutes and hospitals. Its recommendations for programs to prevent heart disease are passed on to the Ministry of Health, which channels them to factories and schools. The center's own research projects are conducted at its three Moscow-based institutes of clinical, experimental and preventive cardiology and at a branch in the Siberian city of Tomsk. Many of the center's 2,500 staff members are not medical doctors but chemists, biochemists and physicists.

Nurse monitors a patient undergoing an X-ray exam of blood vessels

The center is pursuing two other important projects. It tests such remedies as diet and exercise in the control of hypertension. "The U.S.S.R. has been at the forefront of biofeedback and behavioral intervention since Pavlov," comments Claude Lenfant, director of the U.S.'s National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute. The center is also preparing a nationwide program for 1984 to give an electrocardiogram to every Soviet citizen. The aim: to shed light on sudden heart stoppage.

The center's primary asset may be Director Chazov, 54, a chunky, red-haired dynamo with a taste for American catsup and hunting wild boars and goats. He has impeccable Communist Party credentials: member of the ruling Central Committee, Hero of Socialist Labor and 1982 recipient of the Lenin Prize. He is also a Deputy Minister of Health and head of the elite medical unit that treated the late Leonid Brezhnev and, presumably, is ministering to ailing Party Chief Yuri Andropov.

Chazov also works for survival in another sense. Along with Harvard's Lown, he is a founder of the 35,000-member International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Says Lown: "Chazov tells me that when all is said and done, it is not what he has contributed to cardiology that really matters."

—By Anastasia Toufexis.

Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and Anne Constable/Washington

Noted Scientist and Peace Activist Chazov

An end to arteriosclerosis in ten years.

German engineering is either expensive or Volkswagen.

German engineers spare no expense in building those prestigious sedans. And they expect you to spare no expense in buying them.

But a Volkswagen's German engineering enables you to do something wonderfully exhilarating. Afford it.

Our Jetta, for instance, is a family sedan with all the German engineering you'll ever need. From its steering and suspension systems to its choice of three different German-built engines: fuel-injected gasoline, diesel or turbo diesel. Not to mention its handling and performance. Our point being, you have to be rich to buy a prestigious German car. But you only have to be smart to buy a Volkswagen.

The 1984 Jetta $7,390.

It's not a car. It's a Volkswagen.

TIMEX CHANGES THE HANDS OF TIME.

These are computer-projected hands.

Welcome to an incredible advancement. A dial watch with absolutely no moving parts that features an alarm. From Timex. All for under $35.*

These are the Timex® Solid-State Dial watches. We call them Timex ILLUSION.™ They are thin, slim and fashionably styled. They give you quartz accuracy and computer technology. In silver tone or gold tone. And are easily controlled by a sleek command bar.

Give yourself a distinctive form of timekeeping. Computer-projected hands in liquid crystal display. The ILLUSION.™ From Timex.

ILLUSION™

c 1983 Timex Corp

*Suggested retail price. Other models available in men's and women's versions.

The new breed: Payload Specialists Merbold and Lichtenberg in Spacelab mock-up

A Giant Workshop in the Sky

On its ninth mission, the shuttle will carry aloft Spacelab

To the irreverent eye, it looks like an outsize Thermos bottle. But the oddly configured contraption, nestled in the big cargo bay of the space shuttle, represents a giant step into the cosmos. When *Columbia* roars off its Florida pad on Monday morning, Nov. 28, it will be carrying the billion-dollar Spacelab, the first true scientific research station in orbit.

There are other noteworthy aspects about the ninth shuttle flight. By the time *Columbia* lands on the California desert 144 orbits later on Dec. 7, it will have completed the longest shuttle journey, one day (and 400,000 miles) more than any previous flight. *Columbia's* six-man crew will be the largest to fly aboard the shuttle and will include the first non-American astronaut. But clearly the highlight of the trip will be the debut of the 33,252-lb. Spacelab. It represents the first real marriage of space engineering to fundamental scientific research in the manned space effort. Says Spacelab Mission Manager Harry Craft: "We are reaching a major milestone in the space program."

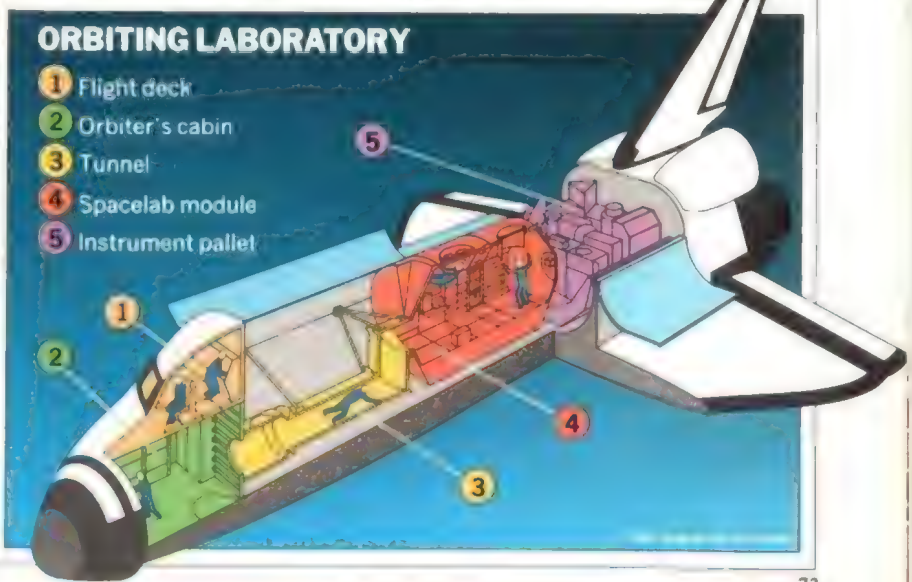
On its test flight, Spacelab will contain some 70 experiments designed by scientists from the U.S., Western Europe, Canada and Japan. Among them: a French experiment that will measure the radiation produced by sunlight's action on hydrogen; a West German high-resolution camera that will map the earth's surface; a U.S. study that may help explain the life cycle of stars and galaxies. Other tests will determine the advantages of fabricating specialized terrestrial materials (crystals, alloys, ceramics) in conditions of weightlessness rather than on earth. There are also studies to see how humble forms of life adapt to space. For example, one inquiry will seek to learn whether sunflowers really need gravity to grow in their characteristically spiral patterns. Indeed, the flight's experimental agenda, involving the work of more than a hundred scientists, is so crowded that "science itself has become the reason for doing this mission," says Spacelab I Mission Scientist Rick Chappell.

Spacelab was built in West Germany under the auspices of the eleven-member European Space Agency (ESA). Packed with everything from computers to miniature automated factories, it is a major advance over Skylab, the U.S.'s first scientific work station in orbit, which was occupied by three successive teams of astronauts in the early 1970s. Spacelab is also considerably more sophisticated than the current Salyut 7, which the Soviets hint may be the first building block of a larger orbital station. Spacelab's uniqueness lies in the versatility of its three major components: 1) two cylindrically shaped laboratories, where the earthlike atmosphere will permit astronaut-scientists to work in shirtsleeves; 2) five external platforms, or "pallets," on which various instruments, such as telescopes and other sensors, will be exposed directly to the space environment; and 3) a snakelike tunnel that will enable astronauts to move between the labs and their living quarters in the shuttle's cabin.

Like pieces of an exquisitely machined Erector set, these parts can be fitted together in different ways. For its debut next week, Spacelab has been configured in what designers call its "long module": the two cylinders have been mated to form one continuous workshop, about 13 ft. in diameter and 23 ft. in length. Positioned between the extended cylinder and the shuttle's tail assembly is a single pallet, holding 18 experiments, involving such equipment as cosmic-ray detectors, spectrometers and TV cameras. On future flights, as the experimental load increases, the tunnel can be lengthened and additional pallets added.

In exchange for the orbital laboratory, the Europeans will be getting a free ride on the shuttle. In addition, the U.S. has agreed to buy from ESA a second Spacelab, to be delivered next year, for its exclusive use. Under the pact with NASA, the Europeans agreed to rent Spacelab slots to private or commercial experimenters, at rates up to about $3,000 per lb.

Monitoring the experiments is a new breed of scientist-astronauts called payload specialists. On Spacelab's maiden voyage, they are Ulf Merbold, 42, a West German physicist whose specialty is the behavior of materials at low temperatures, and Byron Lichtenberg, 35, a biomedical engineer from M.I.T. and Brown University with a particular interest in solving



the problem of motion sickness that has afflicted so many astronauts.

They will have some highly experienced companions. *Columbia's* skipper is Veteran Astronaut John Young, 53, who flew the first shuttle mission in 1981. His total of five space flights, including a 1972 lunar landing, is a world record. Jokes Young: "I love to fly, but all of my parts are starting to wear out." Young's copilot will be Air Force Major Brewster Shaw Jr., 38, a veteran of Viet Nam, who will be making his first space flight.

Rounding out the crew will be Owen Garriott, 53, a specialist in ionospheric physics who spent 59½ days aboard Skylab, and Astronomer Robert Parker, 46, who was a member of the support crews for Apollo 15 and 17. Both are so-called mission specialists: These are career astronauts who concentrate on science rather than flying. By contrast, payload specialists are hired only for a particular mission. In either case, all the crew members will earn their salary (astronaut pay starts at $24,500 a year and goes to more than $50,000) since this is the first flight in which someone will always be on duty. Tours will be divided into two twelve-hour (red and blue) shifts, with a pilot, mission specialist and payload specialist on each.

Originally, NASA had hoped to build the portable lab itself. But after a post-Apollo retrenchment in the space program, the U.S. turned to its European allies for help and in 1973 persuaded them to contribute Spacelab. The partnership has sometimes been stormy. While the Europeans pressed ahead with Spacelab, the shuttle encountered repeated delays and design difficulties. One example: as the shuttle's flying characteristics changed because of NASA's modifications, the original idea of fitting the Spacelab module flush against the shuttle's passenger cabin had to be scuttled, and the unit moved farther back in the cargo bay. That meant belatedly adding a connecting tunnel so the astronauts could reach the workshop area. To appease the Europeans, NASA picked up the $18 million bill for building the tunnel.

Despite the tensions, compounded most recently by a one-month delay in the flight because of a faulty booster-rocket nozzle, Spacelab remains an instructive example of international cooperation in a difficult area of technology. It also may be a prelude to more ambitious undertakings. Planners are already talking of giving Spacelab an array of solar panels so that it can generate its own electricity from sunlight. It would thus be able to float freely in space between shuttle missions. Initially, the unmoored laboratory would be unoccupied, acting simply as a remote-controlled observatory for scientists on earth. Eventually, more modules could be added with on-board living facilities, thereby enabling scientist-astronauts to remain in space for weeks and even months at a time. ***—By Frederic Golden. Reported by Jerry Hannifin/Washington and Geoffrey Leavenworth/Houston***

Press

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Such Lovely Footage

No President in recent history has been as successful as Ronald Reagan in the presentation of self. By now, with his actor's "naturalness" and with the superior technology available to him, Reagan has probably overtaken his role model, Franklin D. Roosevelt. This is appearance we are talking about, not substance, but in the age of TV and Reagan, appearance has just about superseded reality in political importance.

Reagan has just scored two propaganda triumphs. By excluding the press from the Grenada invasion, the Administration brought off a tidy military operation—without unsettling TV coverage of combat as it happened. Reagan's second triumph was last week's quick trip to Japan and South Korea. There the facilities of the armed services were all enlisted to ensure that the press could cover Reagan in glorious color and in time for the nightly news. In Grenada, the press was denied its primary role as an independent witness to actuality. In Asia, public relations was the actuality. The press that traveled with Reagan felt like extras in a presidential spectacular but grudgingly admired how skillfully the Administration carried out its mission. In both triumphs the press was manipulated and outmaneuvered.

Appearances and reality: Reagan in Korea

The press had been advised to expect a lot of ceremony and little of substance on the Far East journey; no tense confrontation with foreign leaders of the kind Reagan dislikes. Fair enough. Good-will trips are valuable, and Reagan is good at them. But why then should Reagan on his return to the U.S. try to make more of it by proclaiming that as a result, the prospects of "peace and prosperity are better today than a week ago"? Well, for one reason, because his advisers thought there may have been too much pictorial emphasis on the military in Korea, so perhaps he should get in a word about peace.

Along with the press corps went two sets of camera crews from the White House. One was the Navy videotapers who customarily record presidential travels for the archives. The other was from the Republican National Committee. At the Emperor's dinner for the Reagans in Tokyo, there was not room for both crews; the Navy was excluded while the Republicans got in. Space was so tight at the North Korean border that most of the regular press corps had to be left behind at a camp below, but the Republican camera crew was assigned a choice position. When these pictures become campaign commercials next summer, Reagan's progress will be made to seem even more triumphant, albeit at one further remove from reality.

Still, there were splendid photo opportunities for all: the Japanese archers on horseback, the thousands of Korean schoolchildren watching the parade. The returning presidential party touched down in Alaska in plenty of time to make the morning news shows. While Reagan slept, the networks were invited to photograph the First Lady playing with two Korean children she was bringing to the U.S. for heart operations. "It was lovely footage, a very sweet story," says Andrea Mitchell of NBC, "but we were trapped." Against such a backdrop, Mitchell found it hard to attempt any serious analysis of the trip for the *Today* show. For her, Reagan's visit to the Demilitarized Zone had been "the most exciting photo op" of them all. The half dozen reporters allowed along, however, noted that Reagan—as so often—seemed to have no curiosity about the scene, nodding while a lieutenant pointed out landmarks but asking no questions. As cameramen called out directions to him, Reagan obligingly turned from one side to another, posing for their pictures like an old pro. Seeing a fake town on the North Korean side through his field glasses, he disparaged it as looking like a Hollywood back lot. There was a touch of professional condescension. Ronald Reagan is a lot better at the art of illusion.

GET THE CREATURES STIRRING.
Smirnoff stirs up perfect punches and perfect parties. It's the perfect quality vodka. No other vodka is filtered for purity and clarity like Smirnoff. So stir up this recipe for your next party. And pick up our free recipe booklet where you pick up your Smirnoff.
CRANBERRY WINE PUNCH
3 cups Smirnoff™ vodka
1 cup Burgundy wine, nicely chilled
4 cups cranberry juice, also chilled
In punch bowl, combine all ingredients. Add big block of ice. Garnish with sliced orange and fresh strawberries. Serves 15 creatures.
Smirnoff
There's vodka, and then there's Smirnoff.

REMEMBER SPECIAL OCCASIONS BY SENDING A GIFT OF SMIRNOFF ANYWHERE IN THE CONTINENTAL U.S. CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-528-6148.
Smirnoff® Vodka, 80 and 100 Proof, distilled from grain STE PIERRE SMIRNOFF FLS (Division of Heublein, Inc.) Hartford, CT—"Made in U.S.A."

5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

VANTAGE.
THE TASTE OF SUCCESS.

Fresh Menthol Taste with Ultra Low Tar. That's Success!

©1983 R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

People

Picture perfect: Tiegs, Shields and Brinkley together at I.C.P.

The Manhattan gala was meant to showcase an exhibition of mountain photographs, but the stunning scenery hanging on the walls at the International Center of Photography last week was fully matched by the scenery hanging out together at the party. **Robert Redford,** 46, who still turns an eye, was the host of the $250-a-head benefit. Also present were three of the camera's best friends: **Brooke Shields,** 18, **Cheryl Tiegs,** 36, and **Christie Brinkley,** 28. Compared with Tiegs in a floor-length chinchilla and Brinkley in black leather, Shields in a modest pattern-made dress looked like the college freshman she is. Not that the Princetonian is always averse to putting on the glitz: recently she agreed to the use of her name on a line of platinum jewelry.

■

If actors can become politicians, then why can't politicians become actors? The answer is they do it all the time, but they are doing it for real on ABC's *The Crisis Game*. The program is airing in four segments this week as a follow-up to *The Day After*, the ABC film on the consequences of a nuclear exchange. Two weeks ago the network taped a strategic war game in which one-time officials and politicians role-play an unrehearsed version of how both sides might handle a superpower showdown. Former Secretary of State **Edmund Muskie,** 69, is cast as the U.S. President. (Muskie will have to watch the program from a hospital bed; he suffered a heart attack at his home in Maine last week.) Former Defense Secretaries **James Schlesinger,** 54, and **Clark Clifford,** 76, portray the Secretaries of Defense and State respectively. The result, says former Assistant Secretary of State **Hodding Carter III,** who plays a senior adviser on the program, "will be as close to reality as anything but real events themselves." For most viewers, that should be plenty close enough.

Nuclear fallout: Muskie and Schlesinger in *The Crisis Game*

■

It was at Treetops one day 31 years ago that then Princess Elizabeth received the news her father King George VI had died and she had acceded to the British throne. As she hurried off for London, the new Queen vowed to come back some day to the legendary lodge in central Kenya. **Elizabeth II,** 57, fulfilled that promise last week by making the popular game-viewing spot part of a jubilant five-day state visit to Kenya. The Queen remembered her first visit well enough to note changes, commenting on the loss of trees and inspecting the ruins of the original lodge, which was burned in 1954 during the Mau Mau rebellion. After her Kenya visit, the Queen and Prince Philip went on to India, where she visited the cremation site of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the leader of yet another independence struggle that led eventually to the end of British rule.

Sentimental journey: Queen Elizabeth with Prince Philip at Treetops

■

Before he quit in 1965, former Cleveland Browns Fullback **Jim Brown,** 47, set the alltime National Football League record for yardage gained with a nine-season total of 12,312 yds. But with Pittsburgh Steeler **Franco Harris,** 33, beyond the 11,000-yd. mark and closing, Brown is seriously considering dusting off his pads. "I'm not in a grave," steams Brown. "I'm active, alive, and I don't like to be talked about like I'm dead." Brown has set a few conditions, however. He wants to play with the Los Angeles Raiders. Harris must also actually break Brown's record and then agree to race him in a 40-yd. match race. If Brown loses, he vows to give up his comeback attempt. The whole thing may never happen, but it sure beats the civilized insincerity of those athletes who profess to be delighted when their records fall.

Brown: steaming back?

—By Guy D. Garcia

Theater

In Search of the Essence

LA TRAGÉDIE DE CARMEN *Directed by Peter Brook*

A conversation between Prosper Mérimée and Georges Bizet, overheard in the smoking room of the Parnassus Club:

Mérimée: And so, my friend, what do you think of the job this fellow Peter Brook has done with your *Carmen*?

Bizet: Excuse me, but I do not regard it as my *Carmen*.

Mérimée: Oh, come. I admit there have been a few changes—

Bizet: A four-act work that takes nearly as many hours to perform is chopped to a single act of 82 minutes, the entire cast is reduced to four singers and two speaking parts, the plot and music are twisted around—a few changes indeed!

Mérimée: But all done, surely, according to a consistent principle.

Bizet: Yes. Vandalism.

Mérimée: Brook prefers to describe it as a search for the essence, a stripping away of conventional trappings. He has turned the apron of the stage at Manhattan's Vivian Beaumont Theater into a patch of dust beneath hot, glaring lights, and on it he has traced the bleak geometry of the characters' fates quite vividly.

Bizet: It is the fate of my other characters and my choral scenes that concerns me. And no offense to the 15-piece ensemble that the music director, Marius Constant, conducts at the rear of the stage and a bit off to the side, but I miss my big orchestra.

Mérimée: For me, I must confess, the production has some of the concentrated impact of my original tale of *Carmen*. You know, the qualities that Nietzsche, just the other day, was saying you had drawn from me—"the logic in passion, the shortest line, the harsh necessity."

John Rath, Escamillo; Eva Saurova, Carmen

On a patch of dust, fate's bleak geometry.

Bizet: Nietzsche! I sometimes think I have suffered more from that old bore's praise than from the censure of ten others.

Mérimée: You don't object to my own *Carmen* being emphasized?

Bizet: On the contrary. Much of what I can find good in this production derives from it. The creature that Carmen has become, for instance—still beguiling, but fiercer and more carnal. The deeper degradation of her simple soldier lover, Don José, through his murders of his officer and Carmen's husband, which do not occur in my work. Even the way Don José's rival, the bullfighter Escamillo, comes to grief instead of triumph in the end.

Mérimée: You see, the immediacy, the reduced scale, the rotation of several young actor-singers in the major roles from night to night—five Carmens, five Don Josés and what have you—are merely Brook's way of reconceiving your work in contemporary theater terms.

Bizet: But he implies that this is the way I would have written it had I been allowed to, or would write it today.

Mérimée: Isn't it?

Bizet: If Brook and his screenwriter-playwright collaborator, Jean-Claude Carrière, were to present me with this libretto now, yes, I might be intrigued. But I worked within quite different terms, the *opéra-comique's* of 1875 and my own. Which brings us to the fundamental point that Brook has missed.

Mérimée: Namely?

Bizet: In a good opera, the drama, the psychology, the structure all reside in the music far more than in the libretto. If you rearrange the libretto, you cannot simply drape remnants of the score over the new framework. Since we are quoting Nietzsche, remember that he said my score "builds, organizes, finishes," and by heaven it does!

Mérimée: What is more, it endures. Your *Carmen* has survived music-hall travesties, ballets, jazz versions and movies. It will survive the undeniable brilliance of Peter Brook too.

Bizet: Well, then, shall we have a drink on it?

Mérimée: By all means, let's join the group in the bar. I believe Nietzsche is buying. —**By Christopher Porterfield**

Milestones

SEEKING DIVORCE. Margaret Trudeau, 35, free-spirited party pepper, sometime photographer and current Ottawa TV show host; and **Pierre Trudeau,** 64, Canada's Prime Minister; after twelve years of marriage (including six years of estrangement), three children; in Toronto. She reportedly decided to end the marriage so she could wed an Ottawa real estate agent.

RESIGNED. A. James Armstrong, 59, respected and influential liberal Protestant clergyman; from the presidency of the National Council of Churches and his position as bishop of Indiana's United Methodist Church; in Indianapolis. Armstrong said that job pressures had caused him to fail "my loved ones" and "the Gospel." Despite rumors of strain in his marriage, his wife later issued a statement, saying, "Jim and I are not separated. We have never been separated. We will never be separated."

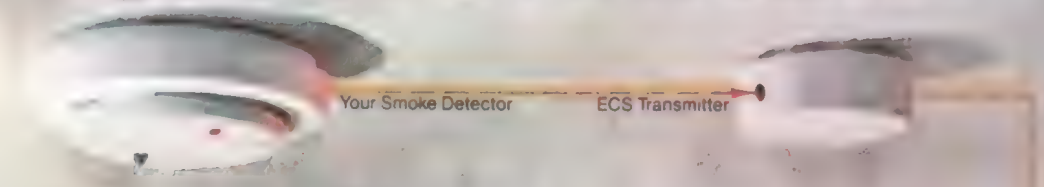
SENTENCED. Willie Wilson, 28; **Willie Aikens,** 29; and **Jerry Martin,** 34, players on the 1982-83 Kansas City Royals baseball club (although Aikens and Martin will not be playing for the team next season); to three months in prison for attempted cocaine possession; in Kansas City, Kans. Wilson and Aikens were also fined $5,000 apiece; Martin was fined $2,500. In sentencing Wilson, who won the 1982 American League batting title, U.S. Magistrate J. Milton Sullivant noted the professional athlete's "special place in our society." Wilson was enraged. Said he: "They made an example out of me."

DIED. Charlie Grimm, 85, exuberant, banjo-playing major league first baseman (1916-36), who in three terms as manager of the Chicago Cubs led the team to three pennants ('32, '35, '45); in Scottsdale, Ariz. Jolly Cholly's antic disposition reached a high point in a dreary 1940s game when, as coach, he signaled a player to slide into third, then slid into the base himself from the opposite side.

DIED. Ivan Albright, 86, American painter renowned for his eerie, disturbing portraits, which feature microscopically detailed scars, blisters, varicose veins and other deliberately provocative signs of human decay; in Woodstock, Vt.

DIED. Mother Pasqualina Lehnert, 89, austere German nun who, as the *de facto* secretary, housekeeper and confidante of Pope Pius XII, was called the Pope's Guardian Angel; of a brain hemorrhage; in Vienna. Mother Pasqualina met Archbishop Eugenio Pacelli in 1918 when he was papal nuncio in Munich, moved with him to the Vatican and, after he was elected Pope in 1939, became the channel through which outsiders had to pass to gain access to the ascetic, withdrawn Pontiff.

Your smoke detector alone can't protect you. It's useless the moment you leave home.



AT&T Introduces the Emergency Call System (ECS). It automatically phones for help whether you're there or not.

What if your smoke detector went off and nobody was around to hear it? You could lose everything. The answer is the AT&T Emergency Call System (ECS Smoke/Fire alert).

When your smoke detector goes off, the ECS transmitter signals the ECS console, setting off a voice alarm: "Fire! Fire! Fire!" If the voice isn't cancelled within 30 seconds, the console automatically phones the first of two telephone numbers chosen by you,* reports the fire, gives your address and repeats it.

The ECS proved to be so effective that Fireman's Fund Insurance Companies, one of the country's largest insurance carriers, endorsed it.

For complete fire protection and peace of mind, invest in the ECS. If you need it only once, it's worth it.

See ECS at your AT&T Phone Center, now at thousands of leading retail stores. **We set the standards.**

AT&T

*Consult your fire department on local laws governing calls made by automatic dialing devices to emergency numbers
Product may not be available for sale in all locations

Best Products Co. showroom near Houston mocks suburban architecture and appeals to a fascination with ruins

The Bricks Come Tumbling Down

James Wines brings his "de-architecture" to academe

A leading architectural historian calls his work "frivolous in the highest degree." A design educator says he "has the energy and enthusiasm to make the dust fly." To architecture students, he is both an idol and an idol smasher. James Wines, 51, seems to be America's only truly avant-garde architectural designer at a time when the established avant-garde—or the avant-garde establishment—has lost its way. Many eyebrows were raised, therefore, when Wines was appointed to take over this fall as chairman of the environmental and interior design department at the Parsons School of Design in New York City. Critic Ralph Caplan may be understating the case when he says, "Wines' appointment will bring some excitement to Parsons."

Sky with Wines: sculpture in the environment

Excitement is needed. In the 1960s design students tended to get too high on social "relevance," as they called it, to learn much. Now social irrelevance is fashionable; schools tend to condone a lazy hero worship of famous designers instead of requiring students to think and create on their own. Parsons, one of the best and largest schools of fashion, graphic, interior and product design, with a New York enrollment of 6,700 and branches in Los Angeles and Paris, is no exception.

Wines brings to his new assignment a flair that disturbs some, amuses others and fascinates nearly everyone. He never received formal architectural training but studied art and art history at Syracuse University and thereafter embarked on a successful career as an abstract sculptor. In 1968, while casting bronze sculpture at a foundry in Long Island City, N.Y., he met Alison Sky, an experimental sculptor and poet. Two years later, with Photographer-Writer Michelle Stone, they launched a design firm called SITE, an acronym for "sculpture in the environment."

"We agreed that art and architecture had lost contact with people," said Wines in SITE's New York office shortly after his appointment to Parsons. Said Sky: "We wanted to create art that relates to its surroundings, to the people who live with it." Added Wines: "We looked at old buildings in Italy and found that they tell us something—about life, mystery, religion. Modern buildings have lost all meaning. We have to bring art back into architecture, not as decoration . . ." Sky finished the thought with their byword: " but as sculpture in the environment."

Richmond showroom: a forest invasion

SITE at first made paper waves. It flooded art and architecture schools with publications expounding the Wines-Sky message and with exhibits showing unbuilt projects, mostly of buildings blending, melting, seemingly dissolving into their surroundings. The word "de-architecture" was often used. Dadaist Marcel Duchamp's name was frequently cited as an inspiration.

SITE's first real commission was the renovation of a Best Products Co. showroom in Richmond in 1971. Best Products is the largest U.S. catalogue showroom merchandiser, with a network of sales outlets that are essentially windowless brick boxes. In Richmond, SITE added a new façade that incongruously and dramatically seemed to be peeling off the box.

Without repeating itself, the SITE team subsequently designed equally startling Best Products showrooms all over suburbia. Outside Houston, their building seems to be collapsing, a cascade of brick tumbling onto the front entrance. Near Miami, the Best Products showroom façade seems ripped to pieces, and the fragments are surrealistically placed in front of one another like stage wings. There is a ten-foot space between each of the freestanding elements: doorways, a canopy over the sidewalk, a stripped, façadeless structure. And in Richmond a second showroom is built in segments amid a stand of trees, giving the impression that the surrounding forest is invading the building.

Such designs succeed in part by playing upon our fascination with romantic decay. We travel far to admire the remnants of past civilizations. Western art abounds with paintings of ruins, and, in 18th century gardens, architects actually built them. SITE's buildings also mock the self-righteous vacuity of modern suburban architecture. "Hell, we are all scared of technology and what it will do to us," says Wines. An unsettling view of what Wines calls "the American mobilized experience" is offered in the firm's Ghost Parking Lot at the Hamden Plaza shopping center in Hamden, Conn.: a row of 20 automobiles submerged to varying depths under a layer of asphalt.

Critics, particularly in Europe, began to see Wines as the only American architect to cast a plague on both houses of contemporary design, those of orthodox modernism and eclectic postmodernism. But the notion lingered that the inventive mockery of his designs for Best Products was relatively easy on a shopping strip, where anything goes. How would SITE perform in the city?

At Hamden, Conn., asphalt and cars—the essence of a shopping plaza—turned into art

A showroom at Cutler Ridge near Miami is broken into surrealistic fragments

High-Rise of Homes: separateness in the city

Partial returns are now in with two new projects. "High-Rise of Homes" exists so far only as an exhibit for art galleries, yet Wines insists that it is commercially and structurally feasible. The project is an attempt to resolve the basic conflict of urban America: people want to live close together in order to enjoy the cultural and commercial benefits of high residential concentration and to reduce urban sprawl and the cost of commuting. But they also want single-family houses with architectural diversity and some private greenery around them. Wines would take these separate homes, yards and all, and stick them into eight- to ten-story-high steel-and-concrete frameworks to create "plots in the sky."

The second venture, the PAZ project, will soon start construction in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. It is a remodeling of a 1904 Y.M.C.A. building now owned by a Hasidic Jewish developer. The building will serve various commercial purposes, including housing a kosher restaurant, but it will also have a roof garden and spaces for religious festivities. As Wines designed it, PAZ (the name comes from the initials of the three principals in the development company) will resemble a ruined brick shell brought to life by a new glass enclosure. Two existing ornate portals will be replicated to provide four entrances, an allusion to the house of the patriarch Abraham as described in rabbinic writings. Explains Wines: "The design symbolizes the blend of cultures as well as the contrasts of decay and renewal that seem to be evident in Williamsburg."

Wines' sensitivity to various cultures and styles is what saves his work from being mere stunts or jokes. Yet he never holds back from undermining or dismantling any tradition in order to find a fresh way to connect architecture with people. Says he: "Nowadays all architects want to be humanists. Some believe forgotten historic trappings can make their buildings human. I am trying to do it with something new, with images of our time that everyone understands." —*By Wolf Von Eckardt*

DYNASTY
abc WEDNESDAYS

Picking the Pockets of Pop

Culture Club stirs up shock waves with some smooth tunes

Hold on, take it easy. The sex stuff is coming up in a minute. First, listen to the music.

Culture Club is the hottest band of the moment from England or, very likely, from anywhere else. The group's success is almost as wild as the *opera poof* masquerades of its lead singer, Boy George. Consider: three Top Ten singles from Culture Club's first album, *Kissing to Be Clever*, which sold more than a million copies; a fourth, fresh single, *Church of the Poison Mind*, already snug at No. 11, with another, *Karma Chameleon*, ready to take off; and a new album, *Colour by Numbers*, storming the LP charts.

Culture Club whips up a smooth, seamless sound that proudly picks every pocket of pop for inspiration: reggae, soul, country and western, mainstream rock. The results are whimsical, joyous and occasionally mysterious detonations of apparently casual inspiration. Very cool, very catchy and, to borrow a favorite word of the lead singer's, never naf. "Naf" stands for out of it, rotten, done over and overdone—and not, clearly, for Culture Club, which seems, at this somewhat disjointed juncture on the hit parade, to define the very core of contemporary pop.

Part of the soul of this success, a good deal of the inspiration and most of the attention have been laid at the swinging door of Boy George. Says Percussionist Jon Moss, at 26 the band's elder statesman: "Boy George is our anchor. You're never going to be able to spot a Culture Club record by just the music. It will be George's voice that identifies us." The voice is an excellent instrument, gliding over notes like a Slinky toy that springs downstairs on its own power. As the saloon singers of an older generation might have put it, the kid's got a great set of pipes.

He is, in fact, a regular Pan. A little like the guy with the hoofs, a lot like the flyboy who wouldn't grow up and, yes, apparently pansexual too. This last aspect of Culture Club has caused many titters, generated a lot of speculation and produced countless photos of Boy George, resplendent and unrepentant, winking or *moue*-ing in four-color splendor. His wardrobe is a tip-to-toe tutorial in the applied art of sartorial shock: coats that Scaramouche might have worn had Scaramouche been a color-blind butcher, a rabbi's black felt hat and unorthodox ties that seem to glow radioactively. His makeup is heavy: mascara (more under the eye than over), raspberry-colored lips, lots of foundation and cantilevered eyebrows. "I try to make my eyes look like Elizabeth Taylor's," he says. "And really, I have one picture of myself that looks so much like her."

The paradox is intriguing: the soulful voice and the drop-dead campiness. It also invites a few questions, which Boy George, 22, can handle expertly. "I'm not gay," he says. "I'm as gay as I am heterosexual. O.K., I've experimented with both sexes, but I'm not a limp-wristed floozy and I'm not a transvestite. Transvestites show tits, man. I'm 6 ft., I'm a man, and I have no delusions." As for his appearance, Boy also says that he has "experimented" a good deal but "I'm just convinced that this is the way I look best."

Boy George dressing up

George Alan O'Dowd (the nickname is of recent vintage) has been conducting his researches into cultural outrage ever since he began appearing at Sunday school at age 13 wearing chapeaux and platform shoes. His family moved from one working-class area of London to another, but when George at 15 showed up for school with white plastic sandals, a tie cut in half and resewed by his mum and a virulent orange dye job, he was placed in a class for incorrigibles. The class was supervised by a psychologist, but the headmaster preferred a tough therapy (the birch rod) and so George dropped out of school. He roamed the London club scene, and by 1980 had done some singing with Bow Wow Wow, a wild and woolly pop act contrived by Malcolm McLaren, who also perpetrated the Sex Pistols. By then George had become what a current press release calls "one of the nation's most prominent eccentrics," and a photo of Boy in full regalia caught the eye of Mikey Craig, then 20, a bass player looking for a band of his own. Craig maneuvered a meeting and Boy signed on. So did Jon Moss and, eventually, Guitarist-Keyboardist Roy Hay. Then the band started playing and writing.

"I think the hardest thing in the world is to write a good pop song," says Moss. "If you ask me, it's much easier to write music that appeals to a small group of people. Yet we're not a typical pop band. You can't categorize us. We don't follow any one musical line. Every single we've released has been different." That, in part, is because everyone in the band has a hand in the songwriting and a different handle on music. Boy George, for example, reveres soul and what he calls "fat black" music ("I love Pearl Bailey"), while Roy likes Steely Dan.

This cultural confluence is worked out on tour, where the band members try out song fragments on one another, and in the studio. George supplies most of the lyrics, Roy many of the harmonies (he stashed some Beach Boys tributes into an odd corner of *Church of the Poison Mind*). "Mikey has a lot of the conceptual feelings about the songs," says George, "and Jon gives them shape. All four of us work on every song together." The four-man core of the band is often augmented by several other instrumentalists, and by Vocalist Helen Terry, who has been described by no less than Michael Jackson as "the best soul singer since Aretha."

"It's multicultural," Moss says. "I'm Jewish, George is Catholic and dresses up, Mikey is black and Roy is like a typical English boy. All the creativity is spontaneous." Combustible too. Culture Club is not only the band of the moment. It seems quite capable of making that moment linger a while, well past the breaking point when mascara can get in the way of the music. —*By Jay Cocks.*

Reported by William Blaylock/Nice

Culture Club in full cry: Hay, Moss and Craig with the Boy himself holding center stage

A whimsical, joyous sound that is very cool, very catchy and never "naf."

MacLaine and Winger: not just how people live but what's in the back of their minds

Sisters Under the Skin

TERMS OF ENDEARMENT *Directed and Written by James L. Brooks*

The movie begins with anxious, ferocious Aurora Greenway (Shirley MacLaine) clambering up over the side of her baby's crib and hurling herself on the tot, hysterically convinced that she has only seconds to administer the kiss of life to her darling Emma and save her from crib death. Naturally, all she does is disturb a healthy infant's sleep. From this scene it is obvious that *Terms of Endearment* is a comedy.

The story ends, some three decades later, with the same mother and daughter (played from adolescence onward by Debra Winger) confronting the same issue, the possibility of the younger woman's premature death, this time a very realistic one, in a cancer ward. From this sequence it is clear that *Terms of Endearment* is a serious film that is trying to say something important about how people can triumph over the worst kinds of adversity.

Between that first intimation of mortality and the final acknowledgment of its certainty, Emma grows up to endure marriage with feckless, womanizing Flap Horton (Jeff Daniels) and have more children than they can afford on his itinerant teacher's pay. She manages to ignore the many opportunities life now offers to raise her feminist consciousness to that minimum daily level of awareness required for the modern woman's mental health (having an affair with the nice man down at the bank doesn't really count). This clearly means *Terms of Endearment* is a cautionary tract for the times, something Phil Donahue can really get behind.

But wait. What about uptight Aurora and that raffish former astronaut, Garrett Breedlove (Jack Nicholson, giving a joyously comic display of just the kind of wrong stuff that appalls and attracts her)? Merely thinking over the possibilities he presents takes some comical time. He has been living next door to Aurora for ten years before she hints that she might entertain a luncheon invitation from him. Five years later she actually accepts it. Thereupon a woman who once told an admirer not to worship her unless she deserved it plunges giddily into a relationship with a man she knows suffers that common cold of the male psyche, fear of commitment. This is, without question, the stuff of romantic comedy. Is that, finally, the way to describe this picture?

Well, no. And that, perhaps, spells trouble. According to Hollywood's favorite adage, it is impossible these days to sell a film successfully if it cannot be summarized in a single catchy line of ad copy. If this is true, then what are the guys over in marketing going to do with a movie that its own maker defines largely by negatives. "It was rarely 'Wouldn't it be great to do that?', but more often 'Better not do this,' " says Director James L. Brooks, who shared creative credit for both *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *Taxi* on television and who spent four years adapting Larry McMurtry's novel to the screen. How, indeed, are they going to handle the writer-director's entirely accurate description of the way his film works: "There is never a moment in the picture that takes you to the next moment or the next place. You just arrive and it seems inevitable—I hope."

But not to worry. What may, at first, be a commercial inconvenience will surely, in the end, turn into an artistic coup. *Terms of Endearment* does work off the conventions that rule more ordinary movies, but only to enrich its own singular voice. Its quirky rhythms and veering emotional tones are very much its own, and they owe less to movie tradition than they do to a sense of how the law of unintended consequences pushes us ceaselessly through the years, permitting no pause for perspective. *Terms* comes to at least glancing terms with almost every problem a person is likely to encounter in life, but it really has only one important piece of business in hand: an examination and resolution, in comic terms, of the relationship between a mother and a daughter. Everything else is in effect a diversionary tactic, a way of placing this brilliantly devised and disguised core of concern within the context of lifelike randomness.

As Brooks sees them, his movie's mother and daughter are actually sisters under the skin, connected not just by kinship but by subtle parallels of emotions and experience. Aurora appears initially to be no more than that familiar figure of satire, the American Mom as American Nightmare, all coy snarls and fierce demureness, while Emma, protected only by a thin skin of perkiness, seems to be her victim. "You aren't special enough to overcome a bad marriage," Aurora snaps on the eve of Emma's wedding, voicing her own fears about what might happen if she ventured outside her perfectly tended Texas house and garden. "I am totally con-

Nicholson as former astronaut

A joyous display of the wrong stuff.

IF YOU THINK HOMEOWNERS INSURANCE IS ALL YOU NEED TO PROTECT YOUR HOME, YOU COULD BE HALF RIGHT.

The other half of the story is that you could die. In today's economy, the sudden loss of one income could well leave your family struggling to keep the home you have worked so hard to provide for them.

Metropolitan understands your need for thorough protection. That's why we offer both homeowners insurance and mortgage term life insurance.* And why we suggest you carry both, to cover your home against almost any eventuality, including your death.

We also understand that owning a home and raising a family are costly. That's why we try to make both policies as economical as possible. So that owning both can become affordable.

Our mortgage term life policy is designed to fit a homeowner's tight budget, with premiums that are lower in the critical early years of your mortgage. And, importantly, it's structured to accommodate modern mortgages, including those with variable rates. It's even automatically renewable.

When it comes to homeowners insurance, we offer a variety of money-saving deductibles that can result in considerable savings in premium costs over the years.

Call your Metropolitan representative, a trained professional who can show you how you can protect your home in a more complete, yet affordable way.

Metropolitan Insurance Companies

METROPOLITAN REALLY STANDS BY YOU.

Life/Health/Auto/Home/Retirement

*Available in most states. Homeowners insurance issued by Metropolitan Property & Casualty Insurance Co., Warwick, R.I. 02887, and Metropolitan Property & Casualty Insurance Co., New York, N.Y.

SMOKERS

U.S. GOV'T REPORT:

No Brand Lower Than Carlton Box King–

Less than 0.5 mg. tar, 0.05 mg. nic.

19th Consecutive Report: No Brand Listed Lower Than Carlton.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.05 mg. nicotine;
Menthol: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine; Soft Pack and 100's Box: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine
av. per cigarette, FTC Report Mar. '83.

King, Menthol or Box 100's:

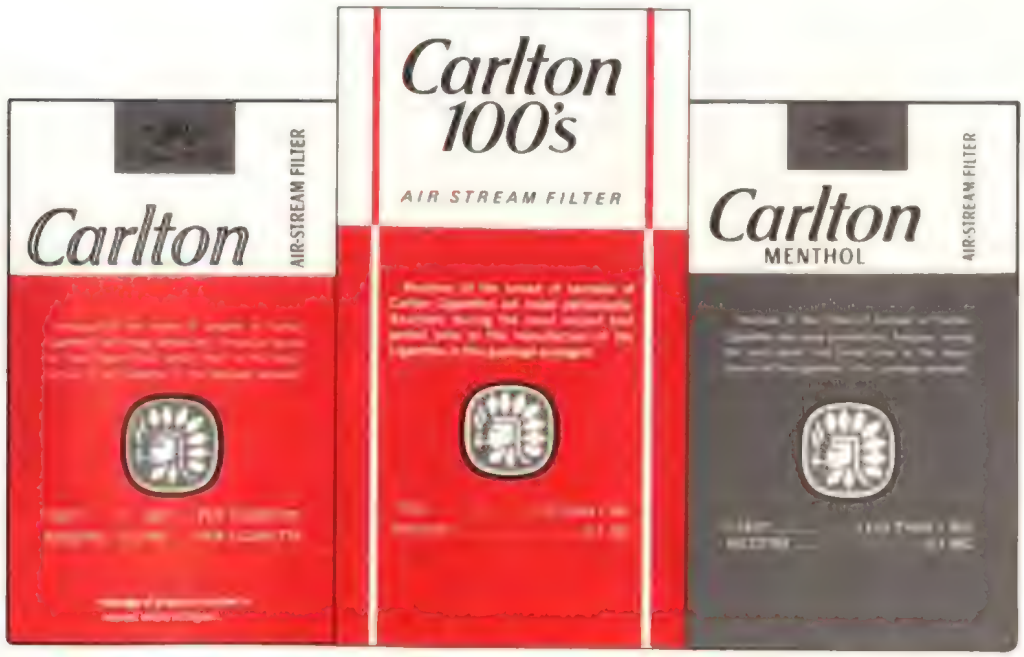
A whole carton of Carlton has less tar than a single pack of...

...KINGS	TAR Mg/Cig	NICOTINE Mg/Cig
Kent	12	0.9
Winston Lights	11	0.8
Marlboro	16	1.1
Salem	15	1.0
Kool Mids	11	0.8
Newport	16	1.1

...100's	TAR Mg/Cig	NICOTINE Mg/Cig
Kent 100's	14	1.1
Winston Lights 100's	12	0.8
Benson & Hedges 100's	16	1.1
Parliament Lights 100's	12	0.9
Salem 100's	15	1.1
Marlboro 100's	17	1.1

TAR & NICOTINE NUMBERS AS REPORTED IN LATEST FTC REPORT

Carlton Kings	**1**	**0.1**
Carlton Menthol	**Less than 0.5**	**0.1**
Carlton Box 100's	**1**	**0.1**



Box King—lowest of all brands—less than 0.01 mg. tar, 0.002 mg. nic.

Carlton is lowest.

vinced that if you marry Flap Horton tomorrow you will ruin your life and make wretched your destiny," she adds. As always with Brooks, locution is character.

But when Emma moves out, Aurora discovers that her child has no corner on inappropriate males. After Flap takes a job in Des Moines ("You can't even fail locally," cries Aurora, whose contempt for her son-in-law is her one immutable, hilarious quality), a plaintive note creeps into her obsessive phone calls to her daughter. Parent is now becoming a dependent, in need of a confidante, especially with that astronaut orbiting around her.

This is a new role for Emma, but one that she is entirely up for. Her ability to cope with each new child and all of Flap's groupy vagaries suggests that somehow even a so-so family life actually makes happy her destiny. If this were an ordinary comedy, that medium-sized irony would have been enough to satisfy its creator and send the audience home happy. But Brooks has one more question in mind. Could these two find it in themselves to reverse this role reversal one more time and arrive at a balanced acceptance of each other? Emma's illness provides the occasion for that final adjustment. Inevitably her growing weakness draws the young woman back toward childish dependency, and the need to defend her daughter against suffering summons forth Aurora's old ferocity. Whether she is questioning empty medical pieties or keeping poor Flap shaped up ("One of the nicest qualities about you is that you always recognized your weaknesses; don't lose that quality when you need it most") or bullying the nurse into administering a delayed sedative, MacLaine achieves a kind of cracked greatness, climax to a brave, bravura performance. Winger has an uncanny instinct for inhabiting a role, for implying that she knows even more about the character than words permit.

James Brooks

But then there are no bad performances, no slack scenes, no inattention of any kind in *Terms of Endearment*. The impulse in praising a film for which there are almost no analogies is to define it by what it is not, but that is really not good enough. It deserves some blunt declaration of respect and unguarded affection. Therefore, these three: no film since Preston Sturges was a pup has so shrewdly appreciated the way the eccentric plays hide-and-seek with the respectable in the ordinary American landscape; no comedy since *Annie Hall* or *Manhattan* has so intelligently observed not just the way people live now but what's going on in the back of their minds; and finally, and in full knowledge that one may be doing the marketing department's job for them, it is the best movie of the year. —*By Richard Schickel*

Elizabeth Edmonds takes an order

School Hols

EXPERIENCE PREFERRED . . . BUT NOT ESSENTIAL
Directed by Peter Duffell
Screenplay by June Roberts

Guess what Annie did on her summer vacation the year before she started college? Yes, of course, you're right. And on the first try too.

As for the entirely unsordid details, they are as follows: the setting was the slightly less than grand Grand Hotel on the Welsh seacoast, where she took a job as a waitress; the lucky fellow was the cute young Scottish chef, who was patient, kind and wise about the whole business. As was Annie, come to think of it. Since the weather was uniformly fine and their mates on the hotel staff, being lower class and English, were politely eccentric, it is hard to see anything about the experience that was unpleasant. Even sitting through the rather dim and distant movie about that long-ago event (the film is set in 1962) can hardly be classed as a chore.

On the other hand, it is not much fun. Though Elizabeth Edmonds could not be sweeter in the leading role, and everyone around her is genial enough, the movie does not quite deserve its promotional association with such predecessors as *Gregory's Girl* and *Local Hero*. For it lacks the wayward exuberance and quirkiness of those small delights. No inexplicable motorcyclist or man in a penguin suit is permitted to wander through Director Duffell's tidy frames. Nor are any brief, enlivening emotional squalls that might stir up those placid waters. The result is rather like a nice day at the beach: nothing wrong with it, but nothing much you can remember about it either. Sheer inoffensiveness should not be enough to recommend a film; if that is one's only criterion, better to stay home and read Barbara Pym, who achieves that goal with wit and style to spare. —*R.S.*

Chapter Three

RICHARD PRYOR HERE AND NOW
Directed and Written by Richard Pryor

Call it *Richard Pryor Born Again*. Not that this coruscating comic actor has seen the heavenly light, renounced his steady diet of high-sodium ghetto talk that would singe the ears of maiden aunts and Marine sergeants alike, and cutified himself into Nipsey Russell. *Au contraire*, as they say in the French Quarter of New Orleans, where this third chapter in Pryor's scarifyingly frank autobiography was shot. The man is still baaad as ever, effortlessly libeling ex-wives (make that all women), Ronald Reagan (make that most white folks) and a tiny racing crab that managed to scamper onstage. But after replaying his heart attack in *Live in Concert* (1979) and building a hilarious routine out of his near fatal experiment freebasing heroin in *Live on the Sunset Strip* (1982), Pryor is here to tell you he has been off alcohol and hard drugs for seven months. Given his hell-bent life-style, that amounts to total conversion.

This may not seem front-page news, except on the *Star;* it is a most unpromising premise for an 80-minute monologue. But Pryor deals in shock therapy, self-applied. He exorcises his demons by turning them into imps from the underworld. And so he gives his impression of Old Richard emerging from the utopia of inebriation to "wake up in a car drivin' 90" and then wallpaper his bathroom with last night's dinner. His enactment of a heroin addict killing himself with a fix is no joke; it is a flat-out, Oscar-time horror show. Pryor starts out showboating: "They say, 'You goin' to hell.' I say, 'I been there. Had so much fun they kicked me out.' " But by the end he is supine on the stage, simulating death throes so graphically it could scare any street kid straight.

Richard Pryor

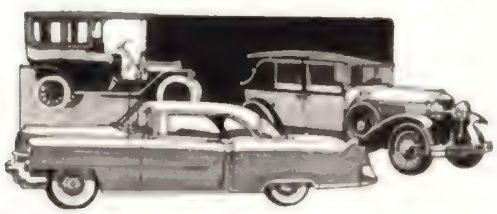
All of Pryor's jokes are impudent, but not all are fresh. A routine about visiting Africa is recycled from *Live on the Sunset Strip;* the warmup baiting of the audience was done in *Live in Concert;* the junkie serenade recalls Pryor's role in his 1973 melodrama *Some Call It Loving*. It can also be tough to maintain your underdog snarl when you've just signed a movie contract worth $40 million. (This is a pose Pryor's sassy "godson," Eddie Murphy, avoided in his delirious HBO concert last month, the better to strut his glitter and gift for mimicry.) But even back-burner Pryor is hot enough. Savor the funny bits on herpes, abortion clinics, nuclear holocausts and men's-room etiquette. And tune in next year for *The Pryor Next Time*. —*By Richard Corliss*

No 3 in a Series

THE CADILLAC LEGACY OF QUALITY

and what it can mean to you

It's leadership in safety.



Cadillac safety "firsts."

Throughout its history, Cadillac has led the way with a series of "firsts" in safety features as standard equipment.

In 1910, Cadillac was first with a closed body production car. In 1928, Cadillac was first to install security plate glass. And in 1954, Cadillac was first with power steering on its entire new car lineup.

Safety Features Now on Every New Cadillac...

Occupant Protection

- Seat/shoulder belts.
- Energy-absorbing steering column.
- Inside door lock handles.
- Interlocking door latches.
- Energy-absorbing instrument panel and front seatback tops.
- Safety glass.
- Safety armrests
- Front seat head restraint for driver and right front passenger

Accident Avoidance

- Side marker lights and reflectors.
- Parking lamps and backup lights.
- Four-way hazard warning flasher
- Lane change feature in direction signal control
- Windshield defrosters, washer and controlled-cycle wiper system (Three-speed wipers on De Villes and Fleetwood Limousines.)
- Outside left and right rearview mirrors
- Dual master cylinder brake system with warning light
- Starter safety switch
- Dual-action safety hood latch.
- Low glare finish on instrument panel top, inside windshield moldings, wiper arms and blades, and steering wheel metallic surfaces.
- Front disc brakes with audible wear indicators (front and rear on Eldorado and Seville)
- Self-adjusting brakes
- Illumination of heater and defroster controls.
- Pressure relief fuel cap.
- Tread-wear indicators on tires

Anti-Theft

- Audible anti-theft ignition key reminder.
- Anti-theft steering column lock.
- Inside hood release.
- Anti-theft key system (one key for ignition only, second key for doors, trunk and glove compartment).
- Visible vehicle identification number.

We believe an alert, comfortable driver is a safer driver.

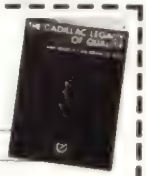
Cadillac interior conveniences are designed to make your driving easier, and in so doing, safer. Because we believe that the easier it is for you to adjust seats, mirrors, heating and cooling, the easier it is for you to concentrate on your driving. Other comforting features...the illuminated entry system and automatic garage door opener available on most new Cadillacs.

Most important safety feature of all.

Of course, it's your seat belts. And we at Cadillac encourage you to use them every time you drive.

A special book that explores many interesting facets of Cadillac quality is yours for the asking.

Cadillac Quality
P.O. Drawer 30091
Dept. T-1128
Lansing, MI 48909



Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Let's Get It Together...Buckle Up. GM

Quality is the reason we say... BEST OF ALL...IT'S A CADILLAC.

Help bring the world together, one friendship at a time.

There can be no greater challenge...no greater satisfaction. That's why thousands of young Americans like you are traveling to other countries as part of a Presidential Initiative for peace...International Youth Exchange. If you're one of them, you'll live abroad with your new host family. Go to new schools. Make new friends. They, in turn, will learn about America from the best of all sources. An American.

In short, you'll be helping to bring our world together, one friendship at a time.

Teenagers between 15 and 19 representing all segments of American society are being selected. If you'd like to be one of them, write for more information on programs, costs and financial aid.

Write: YOUTH EXCHANGE, Pueblo, Colorado 81009

Ad Council

Is a two-income marriage richer or poorer?

When both spouses work, marriage can be harder to manage.

In a four-part report, Mary Ann Childers looks at career couples' salary and psychological differences. And how they can cope with work, children, and each other.

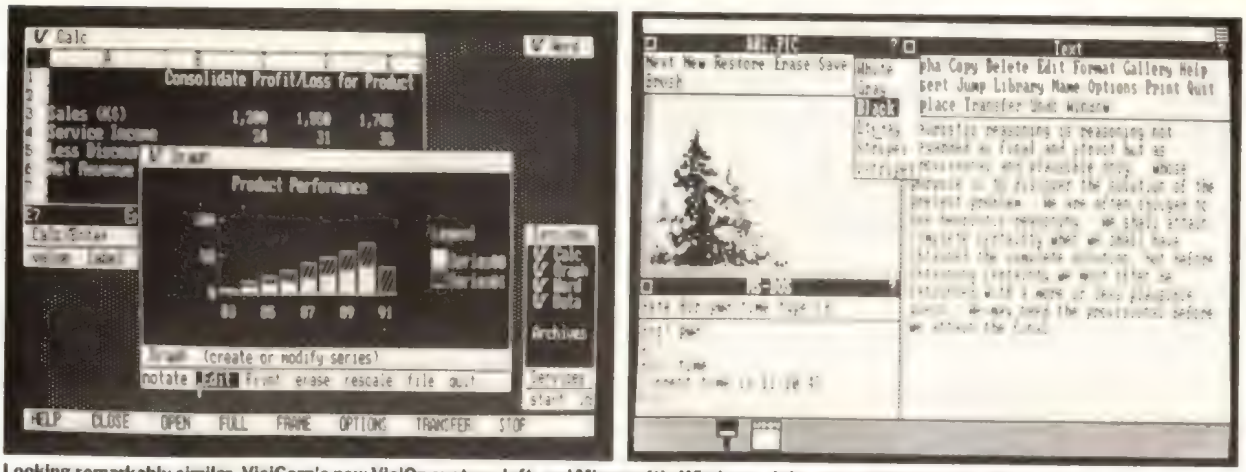
So if you've exchanged vows and both work, watch for better. Not worse.

Mary Ann Childers

He works. She works.
A Special Report
Starting Tuesday, Nov. 22.

Eyewitness News

© American Broadcasting Co., 1983



Looking remarkably similar, VisiCorp's new VisiOn system, left, and Microsoft's Windows, right, are battling to set software standards

Computers

Windows on the World

Two software leaders give video screens a new look

Like women's fashions, computer buzz words change with the season and tend to hide more than they reveal. Last year's programs were all "user friendly," although many proved painfully difficult to master. This year, software is "integrated," which means that information from one program can sometimes be merged with data from another. Industry watchers are now getting a preview of the pet phrase for 1984. Two leading computer software companies, Microsoft and VisiCorp, are offering products with "windows," a system that lets users run several different programs at once, each displayed in a separate section of the video screen.

VisiCorp, the San Jose, Calif.–based publishers of the successful VisiCalc program for financial analysis, next month will begin shipping its VisiOn windowing package. Meanwhile, Microsoft, the leading personal computer software publisher (1983 sales: $100 million), has unveiled a competing product called Windows. Said Microsoft Chairman Bill Gates: "This is a milestone in software."

Each program uses a cigarette pack–size "mouse" as a control device; each allows users to split their screens into rectangular blocks, or windows, giving them the look of desktops littered with sheets of paper. Both systems attempt to address two fundamental challenges facing the personal computer industry: how to get the same program to run on machines put out by different manufacturers, and how to swap information smoothly between different programs. At present, for example, software for an IBM machine will not run on an Apple computer, and most users cannot easily take information from a financial analysis program and send it to a client via electronic mail

The techniques used by the two firms are not new. In fact, the first electronic mouse was developed by a researcher at the Stanford Research Institute, in the mid-'60s. Xerox sold the first product with some of these features, the Star computer system, in 1981. Apple Computer further refined those ideas in its Lisa; that machine was hailed as a technological triumph when it was released last January, but has sold poorly because of its high price (originally $10,000) and poor marketing. Last month IBM introduced a $5,500 desktop machine that gives windowing capabilities to corporate clients with large mainframe computers

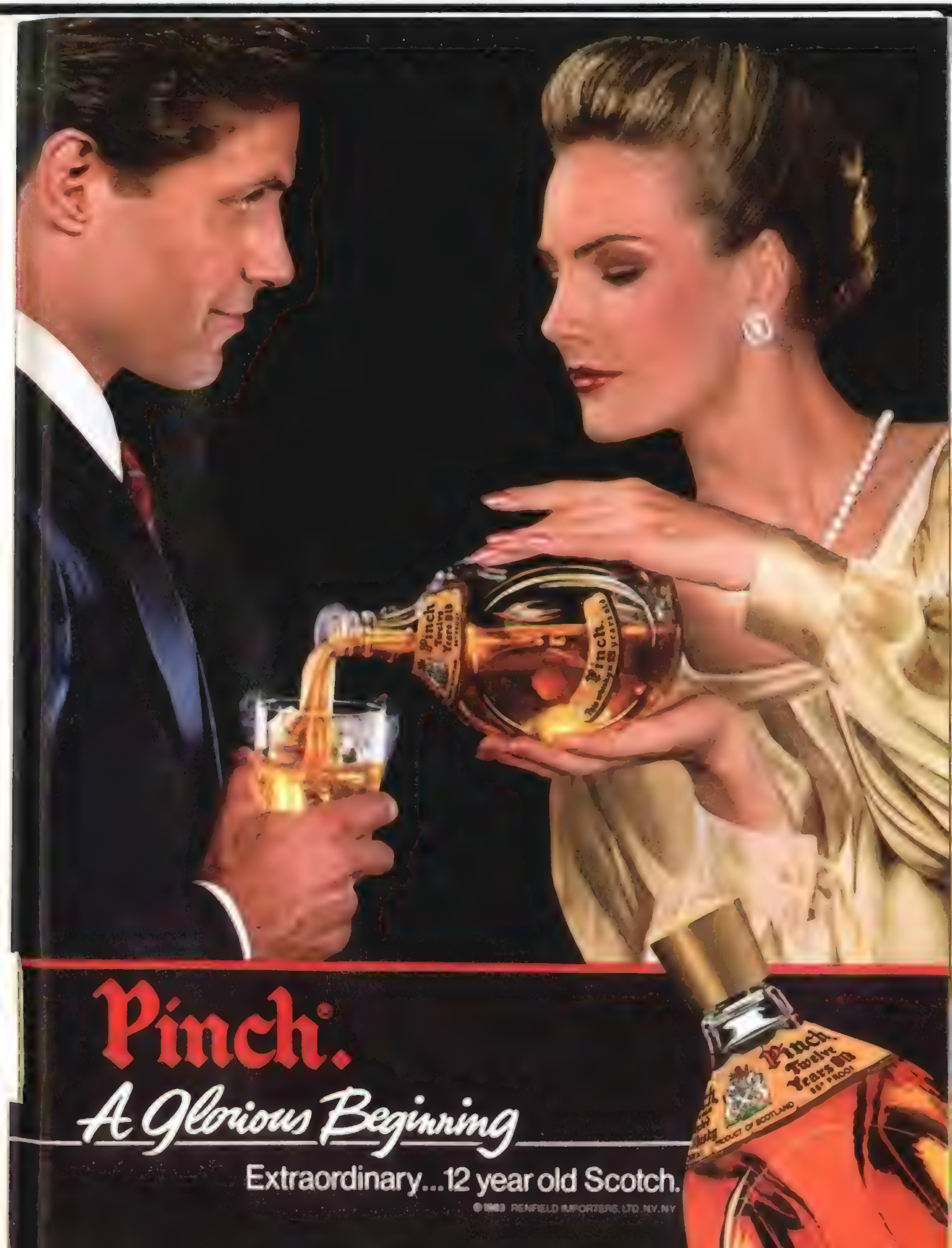
Now a swarm of software firms are writing programs that give many brands of computers a window on the world. Quarterdeck Office Systems, a Santa Monica, Calif., company, has announced DesQ, a $395 window program that can run up to ten programs on the screen simultaneously. Several other products are scheduled to be introduced in the next few months. But the real battle is expected to be between the versions developed by VisiCorp and Microsoft, two of the oldest players in personal computer software

Soon after microcomputers hit the market in 1975, Microsoft's Gates, then 19, took a leave of absence from Harvard to develop and sell the first program that allowed ordinary users to write software on a desktop computer. Today his Microsoft BASIC runs on nearly every brand of micro, from Apple to Radio Shack. When IBM began investigating the personal computer market three years ago, it asked Gates to build the control program for its new PC. As a result, Microsoft's disc operating system is the closest thing to a universal standard for the industry. Meanwhile, the company has branched out into games (Flight Simulator, Adventure) and business tools (Multiplan, Microsoft Word), and designed the software for the immensely successful Radio Shack Model 100 lap-size computer

VisiCorp Chairman Dan Fylstra was a student at the Harvard Business School in 1978 when he heard about two MIT graduates with a new kind of program for business planning. He persuaded them to write it on one of the recently introduced Apple computers and took charge of the product's marketing campaign. The program, VisiCalc, turned out to be the single most popular piece of computer software ever written: more than 600,000 copies have been sold since 1979. Fylstra went on to publish a series of spinoffs (VisiFile, VisiPlot), building VisiCorp into a $45 million-a-year company. Lately, however, the firm has rapidly been losing market share to a host of competitors, including Microsoft

Although the new products look remarkably similar, the companies have followed very different paths. VisiCorp spent three years and $12 million developing a complex window-display system (retail cost: $495) and the programs that run in it ($500 for the first two). Microsoft chose to build just the framework, which it will discount to manufacturers for about $200, and is relying on independent programmers to adjust their existing products to the new system

VisiCorp has a head start, since its VisiOn will be on the market within weeks, while Microsoft's Windows will reach stores next spring. But Microsoft has more support from the computer manufacturers: some 23 firms, including Hewlett-Packard, Digital Equipment and Radio Shack, have agreed to offer Windows with their machines. Whichever product ultimately wins, Microsoft and VisiCorp are showing the direction software is likely to take. —***By Philip Elmer-DeWitt. Reported by Michael Moritz/San Francisco***


Pinch.
A Glorious Beginning
Extraordinary...12 year old Scotch.
© 1983 RENFIELD IMPORTERS, LTD. N.Y. N.Y.
Pinch
Twelve Years Old
86° PROOF
PRODUCT OF SCOTLAND

One long distance to Bowerbank, Maine

The more you hear, the better we sound.℠

We were in Bowerbank back when there were only 20 people living here. Today the town has grown to nearly 30. Now as then, AT&T thinks it's important for the people in Bowerbank to be able to call anywhere they want, anytime they want. That's why there is no place too small to get our long distance service.

With AT&T, your long distance call will sound as close as next door. If you need long distance assistance, our operators are there to help, 24 hours a day. You can take all these services for granted because we don't.

For over a century we've had one goal: to give you the most convenient, efficient long distance service possible.

No matter where you live.
No matter where you want to call.
That's AT&T.
The more you hear, the better we sound.

AT&T

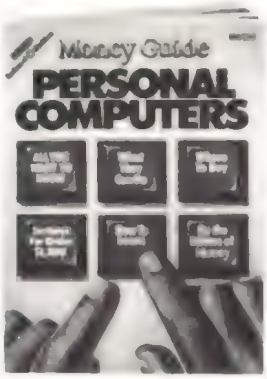
Reach out and

company thinks going is worth the trip.

touch someone℠

AT&T

Money's Complete Guide to Personal Computers



Here's an easy-to-read guidebook that tells you everything you should know about computers before you talk to a salesman.

MONEY's Complete Guide to Personal Computers is the step-by-step source that will help you select a system flexible enough to fill your requirements now and expand to meet your growing needs.

Written and edited by MONEY's expert staff, this guide tells you about the technology ... hardware and software ... machine languages ... modems, peripherals, and more.

From the Table of Contents

- What is a Computer?
- What Can a Computer Do?
- Choosing the Right Computer
- Buying Guide
- Help After You Buy
- Personal Finance

It talks frankly about the wide variety of systems on the market and lists, describes and explains the characteristics of the newest, fastest personal computer systems. And suggests six you might purchase for under $1,000. Send for it today.

To receive your copy of MONEY's Complete Guide to Personal Computers, send your name and address with your check for $2.95 payable to MONEY to:

Money Personal Computer Guide
Box 999
Radio City Station
New York, NY 10019

© 1983 Time Inc.

Science

A hungry foursome feasting on a breakfast of bamboo at the Canton Zoo

Battling a Bamboo Crisis

A botanical quirk threatens the last pandas in the wild

Her name is Jia Jia, which means Homely Little One. As she munches on a bamboo shoot in her compound, her caretaker watches with fondness and concern. The three-year-old, 123-lb. female has only recently been taken from the wild, yet she seems to be adjusting well to captivity. Her keeper even has hopes that she will soon be able to produce young of her own. But, he insists, Jia Jia, a giant panda, is only a "guest." If all goes well, she and her brood will be set free.

Jia Jia's temporary home is not a zoo but a breeding station in the Wolong (Resting Dragon) Nature Reserve, in the thickly forested mountains of China's Sichuan province. The reserve is the center of an unusual collaborative effort of Chinese and Western scientists, mostly American. Their object: to ensure the survival of Jia Jia and the thousand or so other giant pandas still found in the wild.

The immediate threat to the giant panda is not man but nature. In their high-altitude retreats in the remote regions of central China, giant pandas survive almost entirely on bamboo. "It's 99.9% of their diet," says George Schaller, director of the Animal Research and Conservation Center at the New York Zoological Society. Schaller has been studying the pandas in their native habitat since December 1980. Unfortunately, by a curious botanical twist, a staple of their diet, the arrow bamboo, is now undergoing one of its periodic blossomings. When this happens, once every 45 or 50 years, a whole mountainside of bamboo may erupt in flowers, scatter seeds and then perish. The bamboo will regrow in a few years to sufficient size (perhaps 3 ft. high) to provide fresh food for the pandas. Meanwhile, they must scramble for other food.

In a recent survey of the Wolong region, the largest of China's twelve panda reserves and site of a joint China–World Wildlife Fund panda study project, Botanist Qin Zisheng discovered that 95% of the bamboo had already bloomed. Now the pandas, which normally eat 25 to 30 lbs. of bamboo daily, are starting to eat ordinary grasses, although apparently without much joy: Qin says an examination of panda droppings indicates that the animals are suffering from indigestion.

As winter arrives and snow blankets the mountains, the pandas will face more than tummy aches. Two have already died. In 1975-76 a similar flower-and-die disaster involving the umbrella bamboo, which is in a different growth cycle, led to the deaths by starvation of 138 animals in a panda habitat on the border of Sichuan and Gansu provinces.

To avert a similar calamity in arrow-bamboo regions, where a sizable portion of the wild pandas dwell, Chinese scientists, aided by the World Wildlife Fund, are undertaking emergency measures. One tactic: leaving roasted pork chops and goat meat on the mountain slopes in hopes that the pandas will turn from their normal vegetarian diet. Explained Schaller: "They'll eat meat if they can get it easily." The scientists are also using meat to lure pandas to lower-lying regions where other types of bamboo may be available.

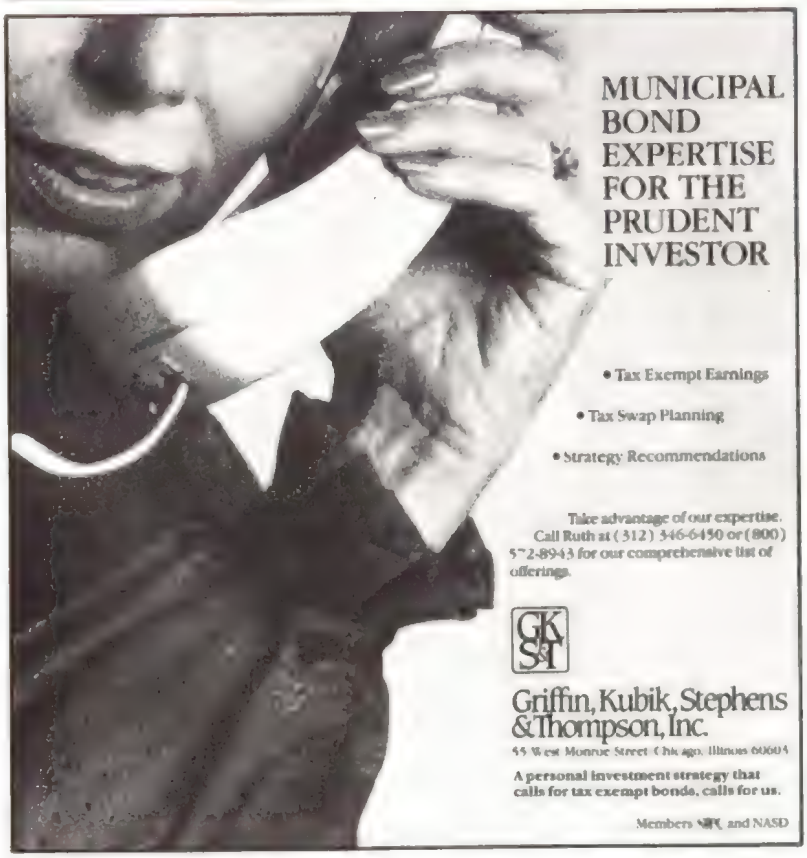
But the pandas' best hope in the long run probably lies with the Wolong Research and Conservation Center, scheduled for completion this month. Designed jointly by William Conway, director of the Bronx Zoo, and Chinese colleagues, the sprawling mountainside complex will become the world's premier panda research facility, with laboratories, libraries and special breeding pens to help sustain the panda population. Says Schaller: "The Chinese will probably save the panda. They are determined to do it. But it has to be a long-term effort. You can never let go." ■

"That night
I was listening to
the bass player cook.
As his hands went
spidering up and down
the strings
his thum-thum-thum
became the group's
heartbeat – and mine too.
In my living room, I had
traveled once again to that
smokey little jazz club long ago."
A JVC High Fidelity System
can take you to another
time and place, with components
that reduce six different
kinds of distortion down to inaudible.
Nothing interferes with the
reality of your music. You're there.

We take you there.

JVC® JVC JVC JVC JVC JVC JVC JVC

JVC COMPANY OF AMERICA, High Fidelity Division, 41 Slater Drive, Elmwood Park, NJ 07407 JVC CANADA INC. Scarborough, Ont.



Science

Measuring Up

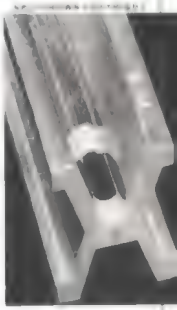
As fast as the speed of light

The report from Paris sounded like a non-event, yet scientists considered it major news. In a rare display of international comity, the 46-member General Conference on Weights and Measures unanimously redefined the meter, the world's basic unit of length.* Instead of being viewed simply as an arbitrary length, the meter will henceforth be defined in terms of another base measure, time—specifically, the distance light travels through space in 1/299,792,458 of a second.

One of physics' sacred constants, the speed of light is exactly 299,792,458 meters per second. If in the future it is measured with greater accuracy—or, more unlikely, is found to have shifted—the length of the meter will change as well.

In the 1790s, revolutionary France tried to bring order to the existing hodgepodge of weights and measures by adopting the metric system. Its scientists confidently set the meter as 1/10,000,000 of the distance between the North Pole and the equator. Making that measurement, however, turned out to be impossibly difficult not only because the earth is far from a perfect, unchanging sphere but because of France's internal turmoil. The government's surveyors were arrested as royalist spies, narrowly escaping the guillotine.

By 1889, scientists had defined the meter as the distance between two marks on a platinum-iridium bar kept under controlled conditions near Paris. Still, even this measurement, accurate to one part in a million, was eventually adjudged unsatisfactory. In 1960 the meter was redefined as 1,650,763.73 wave lengths of the reddish-orange light emitted by krypton 86, a rare atmospheric gas.


Old meter bar

Although the krypton meter was accurate to four parts per billion, it led to errors of up to 5 ft. in such experiments as measuring the distance from the earth to the moon—an irritant to scientists exploring the nuances of relativity or movements of continents. Now, by redefining the meter in terms of time, the scientists are using the most accurately known base measure. With its incredibly precise atomic clocks, the Bureau of Standards can measure the second to better than one part in 10 trillion. The new standard, to be sure, makes no significant difference for workaday tasks. Still, there is something comforting in the fact that the scientific quest for accuracy is alive and well. ■

*Even the nonmetric U.S. has legally established the yard as exactly .91440183 meter.

It works four times faster.

The new Olympus Quick Flash is the world's only 35mm camera with a 1.5 second flash recycling time. That makes it more than four times faster than any other auto focus camera. And that means when a great picture happens, you're ready, automatically. So don't look for a ready light. It's always ready.

The Quick Flash works on a Lithium powercell that gives you about 1,440 pictures or 5 years average use. That's about 5 to 10 times more pictures than any other auto focus camera. So you can keep on shooting without changing batteries or missing great shots.

Introducing the Quick Flash. The Auto Focus Camera from Olympus.

The Quick Flash also automatically loads the film, automatically advances it to the first frame, automatically focuses as you press the button, automatically sets the exposure indoors or out, automatically winds the film to the next frame, and after you're done shooting, automatically rewinds the film.

If that's not the most automatic camera there is, then our name isn't the Olympus Quick Flash. For details flash on down to your Olympus dealer.

OLYMPUS

When you have more to say than just smile.

"The same determination that built the Erie Canal powers many of today's emerging growth companies."

Robert E. Brennan, President, First Jersey Securities

Today, the 363 mile long Erie Canal stands as testimony to the bulldog determination of its builders, who faced monumental problems every step of the way. Political squabbling. Wilderness obstacles. Changes in elevation. Laborers with only picks and shovels. No experienced engineers. And a continual shortage of funds. Nevertheless, in 1825, after eight backbreaking years, the canal was opened.

Its impact was immediate and immense. By linking the Great Lakes with the Hudson River, the Erie Canal opened up trade with Mid-America, and turned New York into our major commercial center.

Today I see the same determination that built America in hundreds of small to midsize companies whose new ideas, new jobs and new technologies will continue to build this country.

First Jersey Securities is a nationwide investment firm providing capital for such emerging growth companies. If you are an investor with vision and would like to discuss current investment opportunities, please contact us.

First Jersey Securities, Inc.
50 Broadway, New York, NY

Member SIPC

New York, NY • San Diego, CA • San Mateo, CA • Darien, CT • North Palm Beach, FL • Atlanta, GA • Columbus, GA • Mount Prospect, IL • Shawnee Mission, KS • New Orleans, LA • Danvers, MA
Raleigh, NC • Cherry Hill, NJ • Red Bank, NJ • Woodbridge, NJ • Paterson, NJ • Buffalo, NY • Nanuet, NY • Rochester, NY • Lancaster, PA • Wayne, PA • Houston, TX • Falls Church, VA

Come grow with us

HORAN PICTURE GROUP

Activists holding hands in solidarity during Chicago rally against papal policies on women

A Struggle to Keep the Faith

American Catholics are torn between change and loyalty

Beneath the Vatican's stern and watchful gaze, the Roman Catholic Church in the U.S. sometimes must seem like an unruly teen-ager. Rather like an adolescent, the U.S. church demands the right to experiment and to be "relevant." Like any prudent parent, Pope John Paul II is seeking to exercise a firm hand without alienating. Consider some of the family conflicts over the past few weeks:

In Chicago, 1,200 nuns and laywomen from 37 states gathered to protest teachings that limit the role of women in the church. They announced the founding of a new women's Catholic movement, and celebrated a ritual meal with round loaves of bread and carafes of wine. Some wore buttons announcing I'M POPED OUT.

In Washington, D.C., one-third of the nation's 292 active Catholic bishops attended a meeting that was sponsored in part by groups advocating the ordination of women. Although the bishops remain loyal to the Pope's September directive to withdraw "all support" from those promoting the cause of female priests, they are becoming increasingly sympathetic to women's demands for justice within the church.

In Seattle, a special papal delegate has been examining Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, an outspoken antinuclear activist who has welcomed homosexual groups to his cathedral and allowed liturgical experimentation *(see box)*. The Pope has directed other American bishops to investigate the 500 religious orders in the U.S. as well as the country's 300 seminaries, presumably to see whether candidates for the priesthood and their teachers have strayed from orthodoxy.

In short, John Paul would seem to have trouble on his hands with the U.S. church, the richest and fourth largest* national branch of Roman Catholicism. Many American Catholics resent what they see as the Vatican's continuing view of the U.S. as a mission church. Because of the Pope's Polish background, says Milwaukee's liberal Archbishop Rembert Weakland, he "probably doesn't quite understand the American approach to dialogue and pluralism."

The Vatican has been at great pains to deny that the Pope is out of touch, as indeed have many bishops. "John Paul knows America better than any Pope in history," insists one Vatican official. And Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago, who is as close to the Pope as any U.S. prelate, insists that "it is wrong to say that the Pope considers the U.S. church worse off than the others. But he does see it as a very important link with the rest of the world. Whatever happens in the U.S., it's just a matter of time before it happens elsewhere." Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul summed up the situation in a baseball analogy: "If a .150 hitter goes into a slump, it doesn't make much difference to the team. But if a .350 hitter goes into a slump, the manager really gets worried."

On John Paul's mind is one disturbing fact about the U.S. church: it is losing some of its most dedicated workers. Over the past 17 years the ranks of U.S. nuns have declined by 61,000, to 121,000, and the number of priests has barely grown despite a 12% increase in the number of baptized Catholics. American nuns, in particular, are becoming increasingly alienated from the church's position on the dominance of men. Sensitive to this problem, the American bishops voted unanimously at their annual meeting in Washington last week to publish a pastoral letter on women's problems in the church. This question "is one of the most serious facing the church today," declared Cardinal Bernardin. "We cannot responsibly ignore it or deal with it superficially."

The bishops point out that the Pope himself has assailed discrimination against women as part of his strong advocacy of social justice and human rights. However, in routine meetings with American bishops, held in Rome throughout this year, he has made clear his conservative stance on some of the most troublesome issues confronting the U.S. church: divorce, birth control, sexual mores, freedom to dissent from church teachings and, of course, women priests. In addition, the Pope is demanding that the U.S. church abide by a new code of canon law, 24 years in the formulating, which goes into effect next week. Among its rules, which the Vatican expects to be obeyed: all members of religious orders, both men and women, must live in convents or in religious communities when possible, and they may not hold public office. In addition, the Pope wants nuns to wear some form of distinctive garb.

The Pope means business on all of these issues, says Bishop James Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, who last week was elected president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, succeeding Archbishop Roach. "He doesn't content himself with platitudes; he acts, and we're obliged to respond." But many U.S. Catholics have less enthusiasm for response. "I don't think the church can go back. It amazes me that they think they can do this," says Agnes Mansour, the Michigan state social services director who chose to resign as a nun earlier this year because she refused to comply with a Vatican directive that she state her opposition to publicly funded abortion.

Mansour's attitude is supported by the 2,000-member National Coalition of American Nuns, a radical group that is urging liberal nuns to consider severing their canonical ties with Rome. If some

Roach: occasional misperceptions

MEDSKO/TAYLOR

*With 52 million members, it ranks behind Brazil (111 million), Mexico (67 million) and Italy (56 million).

nuns do ignore the directives that are certain to follow the current scrutiny of religious orders, one Vatican official cautions that "there could be a real housecleaning." For many American nuns, however, this will not be an issue: the Chicago-based Institute on Religious Life, representing 25,000 traditionalist members of religious orders, has expressed "joy and gratitude" at the Pope's firm hand.

President Malone

There is tension, too, among men's orders. The liberal Jesuits at the seminary in Berkeley, Calif., barely speak to their colleagues across the bay at the University of San Francisco. Father Joseph Fessio, a conservative priest at the university, protests, "We have priests saying Mass in sports shirts and some using French bread." Similar views are stated even more colorfully by the *Wanderer*, (circulation: 35,000), an extreme right-wing Catholic weekly published in St. Paul, which is said to be closely read in the Vatican. This month the paper thundered against "secularist sex education, dissident priests and theologians, politicized Catholic agencies and aberrant liturgies."

So far the three-year seminary investigation, supervised by Bishop John Marshall of Burlington, Vt., has produced little anxiety, and some seminaries have even found the meetings with visiting clergy to be enjoyable. But the visits have only just begun, and future tension is possible because of the Vatican's insistence that all theologians and biblical scholars must submit to the church's teaching authority, which is clearly not the case on some campuses. Not all schools are happy with the decree from Rome that only priests can serve as spiritual directors and that as a general rule nuns and lay people not be hired to train future priests.

The Pope can still depend on the loyalty of American bishops, particularly as the time nears for the naming of new leaders for four of the largest archdioceses in the U.S.: New York and Boston, where he must name successors to the late Terence Cardinal Cooke and Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, and Los Angeles and Philadelphia, whose Cardinal Archbishops are within two years of reaching 75, the age at which they must resign. Archbishop Roach last week warned his colleagues that they must do better in conveying "the experience and insights of the church in the U.S. to the Holy Father and those who collaborate with him in Rome."

Yet despite what Roach described as an era of "occasional misunderstandings, misperceptions and tensions," many theologians detect a new vitality and dynamism in the U.S. church, typified by the bishops' pastoral letter this year condemning the nuclear arms race. Asserts Father Carl Peter of Catholic University, a member of the Vatican's International Theological Commission: "The church in this country is healthy and reaching a new stage of maturity." He adds: "While remaining authentically Roman Catholic, we are becoming more and more distinctly American." —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Jim Castelli/Washington and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago, with other bureaus*

Checking Up on "Dutch"

On a cloudy morning last January, the grieving couple arrived at St. Michael's Church in Olympia, Wash., to bury their only son. He had died at 37, leaving a wife and two young children. The parents' first anxiety developed even before the funeral Mass began: many of the worshipers entered the nave with cries of joy, and the celebrant, Father Paul Dalton, was clad in festive mod vestments. The rite began like a Chamber of Commerce luncheon, as worshipers were urged to introduce themselves. In his homily, Dalton reported that as the husband lay dying, it was the wife, not the priest, who anointed him with sacramental oil. At the Communion, both Catholics and non-Catholics went forward to receive the consecrated bread and wine.

Worse was to follow. A dancer appeared and glided through the sanctuary; then came a clown, carrying balloons, who began skipping around the coffin chanting, "Today my brother and sister are dancing together in heaven." The mother, already deeply offended and in tears, only later realized that the clown's voice was that of her own daughter. After the daughter tied the balloons to the coffin, pallbearers in work shirts carried the coffin to the dead man's Chevrolet pickup truck.

PHILIP AMDAL

Hunthausen, left, and Hickey meeting in Seattle

Since the Most Rev. Raymond ("Dutch") Hunthausen became Archbishop of Seattle in 1975, his flock of 287,000 has become accustomed to such unusual rituals. The Vatican has been inundated with complaints from conservative parishioners, including one from the parents of the man whose coffin was decorated with balloons. Three weeks ago, Pope John Paul dispatched Archbishop James Hickey of Washington, D.C., on an extraordinary "apostolic visitation" to probe what Hunthausen has wrought.

A native of Montana, the energetic, soft-spoken Hunthausen, 62, is known as the "peace Archbishop." He preaches unilateral disarmament, refuses to pay half of his income tax as a protest against Pentagon spending, and has denounced the local nuclear submarine base as the "Auschwitz of Puget Sound." During his week-long visitation, Hickey said he was not concerned with political issues but only with hearing out priests, nuns and parishioners, and among the 60 Washingtonians he spoke to there was no shortage of praise for Hunthausen; 252 of the 280 priests in the archdiocese signed a petition of support. "A lot of us see the Archbishop as a symbol of unconditional love here," said Pat Cervenka, a Catholic housewife who went to the airport to hand Hickey her own pro-Hunthausen letter. "The culture in the U.S. is different from Rome."

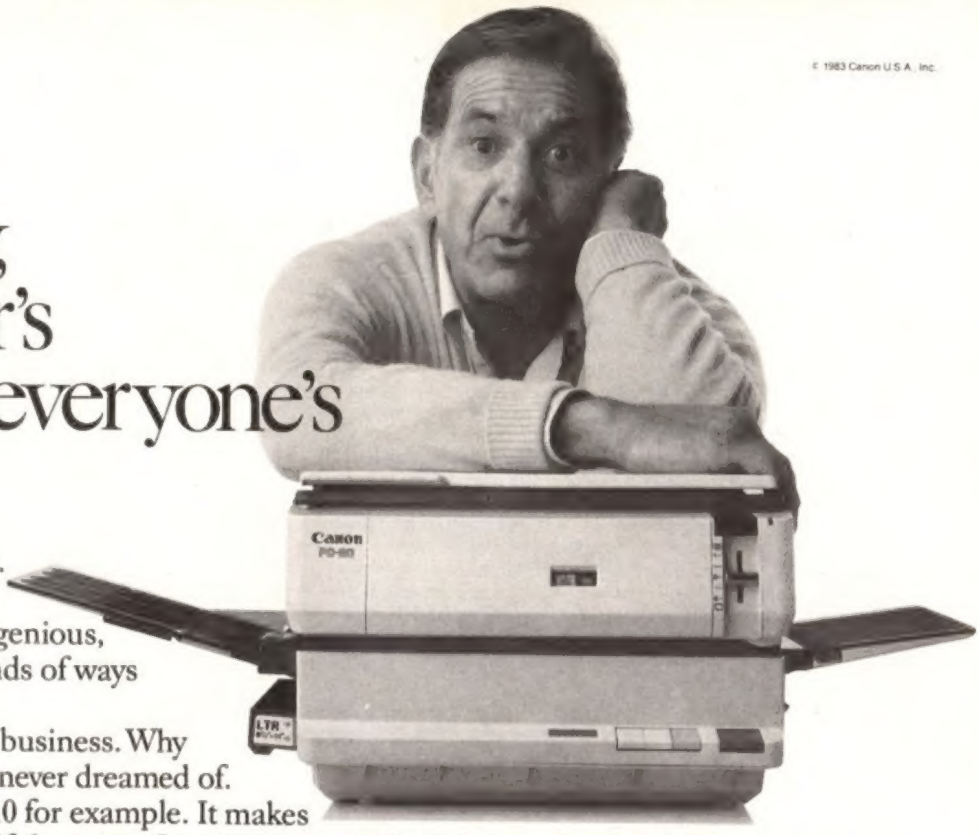
Critics claim that Hunthausen's pastoral solicitude runs only in a leftward direction. One witness, Father Paul Auer, was forced into retirement at age 59 and has petitioned Rome for reinstatement. "The Archbishop said I was unfit to be a pastor in this post-Vatican II age," he told TIME Correspondent Joseph Kane. He said he was upset by "liberal theologians who come here with the idea of remaking the church, always in the spirit of Vatican II," and he railed against such practices as entertainment in church, which in his view turns the Mass into "just a meal."

Jesuit Father William Sullivan, president of Seattle University, sees the archdiocese as a paradigm of a nationwide tension between liberals and conservatives. On one side are people like Hunthausen, "a man of Vatican II" who favors the "democratic mentality." On the other stands "the older notion of top-down authority" reinforced by the Pope.

Last week Hickey was being discreet on what he would recommend to Rome. Said he: "It wasn't easy, you know."

© 1983 Canon U.S.A., Inc.

Suddenly, my copier's minding everyone's business.

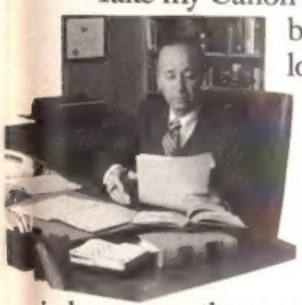


I should have known.

My Canon Personal Cartridge copier is so ingenious, people are finding all kinds of ways to use it.

Especially people in business. Why they're using it in ways I never dreamed of.

Take my Canon PC-10 for example. It makes beautiful copies. On plain paper. Which is just what business people are looking for. And it's so small, they can have one anywhere. On their desks for instance. Or even a countertop.



My Canon PC-20 gives business a bit more. With a copy speed of 8 copies a minute. And a paper cassette that holds up to 100 sheets to keep the copies coming. Now several busy people can share one.

But what everybody really likes about my copiers is how easy they are to maintain. All you have to do is change a cartridge.

That's because the entire copying process—the toner, the drum and the developer—is inside a neat replaceable cartridge. Good for about 2,000 copies.

Better still, the PC Copiers do something no other copiers can: They copy in black, brown or blue, just by changing the cartridge. Tremendous.

If you've been wondering about the price, relax. It's so low almost every business can afford their own PC Copier.

Canon Personal Cartridge copiers. If I were you, I'd make it my business to look into one today.

Canon PC-10
$995*

Canon PC-20
$1,295*

Canon PC Cartridges
$65 in black
$70 in brown or blue

*suggested retail price exclusive of cartridge.

Canon PC-10/20
Personal Cartridge Copying, Plain and Simple.™

For more information about Canon Personal Cartridge copiers call toll free 1-800-526-7443 Ext. 499 (in New Jersey 800-522-4503 Ext. 499). Or mail to: Canon U.S.A., Inc., P.O. Box 5023, Clifton, NJ 07015.

NAME
TITLE
COMPANY
ADDRESS
CITY
STATE
ZIP
TEL

TM1 12883

Essay

Marshal Potemkin, Meet Your Fans

Marshal Grigory Potemkin, one of the more artful lovers of Catherine the Great, accomplished many things during his long domination of Russia, but he is best remembered for an illusion. To impress Catherine with the prosperity that he had brought to her subjects, he is said to have built handsome fake villages all along the route of her tour through southern Russia in 1787. Historians doubt this tale, which they blame on malicious court gossip, yet there is something about the idea of "Potemkin villages" that lingers in the memory as a symbol of political craft.

Let us therefore salute Anthony B. Gliedman, New York City commissioner of housing preservation and development, who is carrying on a program worthy of Potemkin at his most imaginative. Confronted with the dilapidation and general ruin of the buildings he is assigned to preserve and develop, Gliedman has found an ingenious solution. He pastes vinyl decals over the broken windows of the city's abandoned slum tenements to convey an illusion of cheery life inside. Some of the decals look like curtains, some like venetian blinds; some even contain illusory flowerpots, where illusory geraniums blossom in an illusory sunshine.

Not only has Gliedman so far spent $100,000 to gussy up 330 vacant houses in various poor neighborhoods, at $6 per decal, he is now spending an additional $70,000 of federal funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to extend his good works through the most devastated areas of the South Bronx. This pleases the inhabitants and reduces vandalism, he says; it is also supposed to make a favorable impression on potential investors who might be driving past on the way to the suburbs.

"We don't want anybody to think we're doing this instead of rebuilding," the commissioner told the New York *Times*. "But that will take years and require hundreds of millions of dollars. And while we're waiting, we want people to know that we still care. We want people to feel good about their neighborhood. Morale is very real. Perception is reality."

Perception is reality. Could Plato himself have said it better in his speculations about the imaginary cave where prisoners see life as a series of shadows flickering on the walls? Wasn't that what Shakespeare meant when he had Prospero conclude his pageant by declaring that "the cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples" would all dissolve, for "we are such stuff as dreams are made on"? *Trompe l'oeil* (trickery of the eye) is the artistic term for it, and Italy is full of palaces with flat ceilings painted to look vaulted and plaster made to resemble marble. Even Renaissance landlords liked to economize.

Perception is reality. It is the motto of pickpockets, but also the police. Los Angeles authorities discovered a few years ago that an empty police car parked alongside a speedway would serve just as well as a manned cruiser to slow down traffic. In fact, at least one Beverly Hills denizen has taken to keeping a fake patrol car in the driveway to deter thieves. Mere burglar alarms are obsolete today; the up-to-date suburban paranoiac installs timers in his house to turn lights off and on while he is away.

Perception is reality. It has long been an axiom for soldiers. "All warfare is based on deception," said Sun Tzu, the great 4th century B.C. Chinese strategist whose prize pupil turned out to be Mao Tse-tung. The Greeks understood that principle when they set sail from Troy, leaving behind only a large wooden horse. Macduff knew it when he disguised his soldiers with branches from Birnam Wood as they marched against Macbeth. In World War II, the Allies created a phantom First U.S. Army Group, outfitted with rubber tanks and canvas landing barges (courtesy of the Shepperton movie studios). Its swirl of fake radio messages about an impending invasion at Calais helped keep the entire German 15th Army pinned down 200 miles east of the actual invasion site on Omaha Beach.

At the demilitarized zone that divides Korea, Ronald Reagan looked frowningly northward last week toward the showpiece village that the North Koreans have built there—complete with false fronts on the buildings and jolly villagers trucked in and out every day. Reagan was scornful of the Communist props. "It looks just like a Hollywood back lot, and it isn't any more important," he said.

Reagan is too hard on his California colleagues who, after all, built the movie sets that convinced people of the reality of George Gipp and Drake McHugh. And as Commissioner Gliedman's views demonstrate, the triumph of stagecraft lies in the change from perception affecting reality to perception *being* reality. The only question now is why the Potemkin plan should be limited to slum housing when it could just as well be applied to all kinds of problems that bedevil officialdom.

Hunger, for example. If $6 will buy a decal of a flowerpot to make a gutted tenement look cheerily affluent, it could just as well buy a decal of a large filet mignon, surrounded by heaps of buttered carrots and peas and mashed potatoes. If that seems too indulgent, perhaps simply a decal of a steaming pot of stew. That should enable quite a few families to imagine themselves well fed.

Unemployment? Why not a decal of happy workers toiling at an assembly line or a cheerful payroll clerk handing out imaginary paychecks?

There is no reason, for that matter, why the Potemkin program should be limited to domestic affairs. Instead of struggling with Congress to pay billions for MX missiles, the Administration could install decals of the missiles already on their launching pads. In Europe, similarly, the Administration could still the uproar over the new Pershing and cruise missiles by deploying decals instead. None of that is likely to deter the Soviets, but perhaps it would deprive assorted paint throwers and other protesters of an issue.

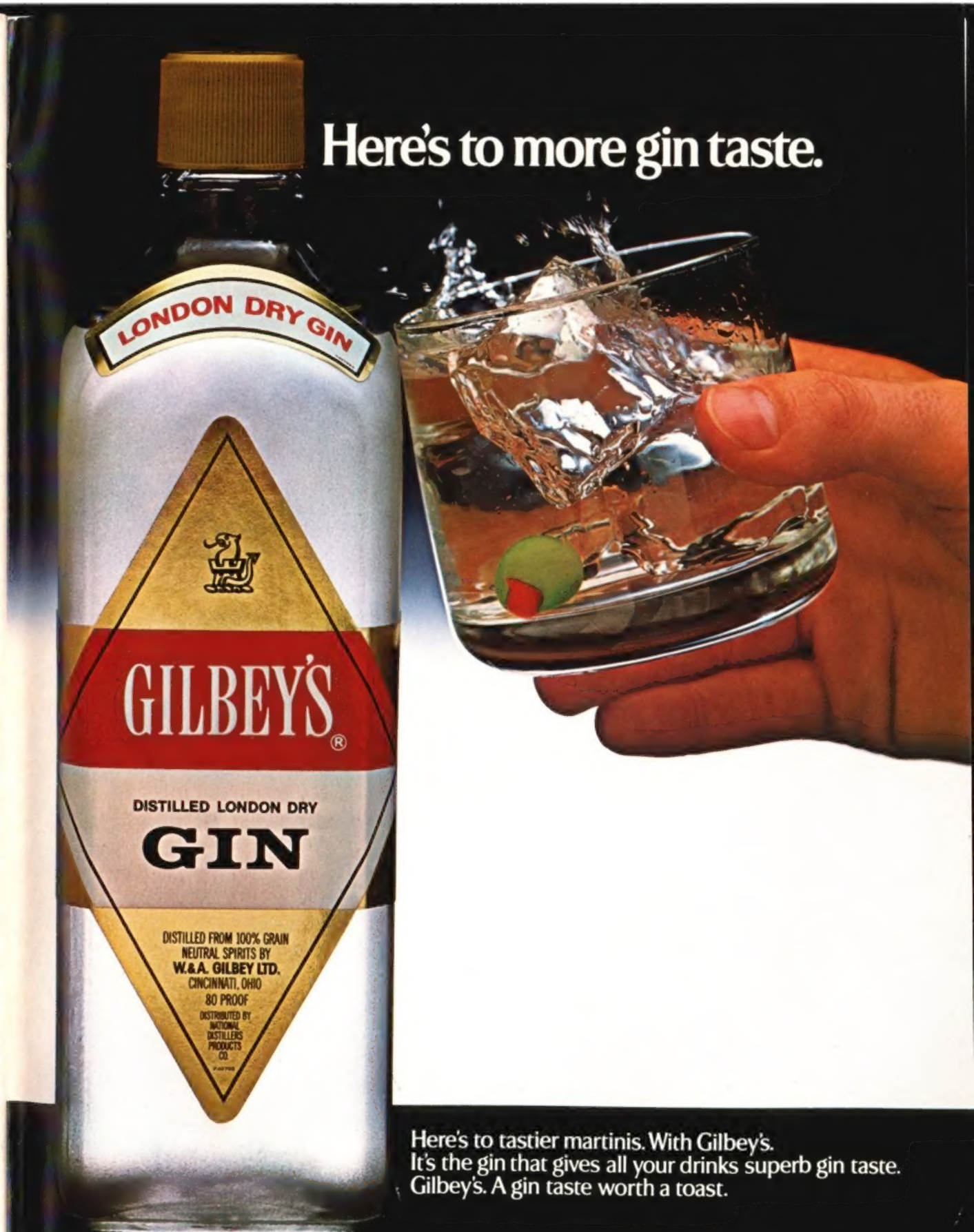
Once the Government has solved all these problems, a cynic might ask whether there was any purpose in having a Government at all. A decal of President Reagan reading a speech into a battery of microphones would serve just as well as a TV image of the real President reading a speech. Similar decals of Congress passing legislation or bureaucrats issuing regulations would create a reassuring illusion of Government not only hard at work but showing that it cares.

As Jefferson wrote—or should have written—in the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these perceptions to be self-evident . . ."

—By Otto Friedrich

Illustration for TIME by Jo Teodoreseu

Here's to more gin taste.



Here's to tastier martinis. With Gilbey's.
It's the gin that gives all your drinks superb gin taste.
Gilbey's. A gin taste worth a toast.

Marlboro
Marlb
Warn
That
17 mg "ta